Hurry! Last Chance to Give HUMAN EVENTS Christmas Gifts!

See page 16

HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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NSF Still Supports Leftist

Why More Tax Money to Stephen Smale?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The National Science Foundation now has settled upon the boyish head of Stephen Smale a new grant of $87,500 in public funds. For another two years, the taxpayers of America thus will be subsidizing the summer vacations of this peacenik mathematician whose abiding avocation is to give aid and comfort to America's enemies in Viet Nam. It is, in truth, a lunatic world we live in.

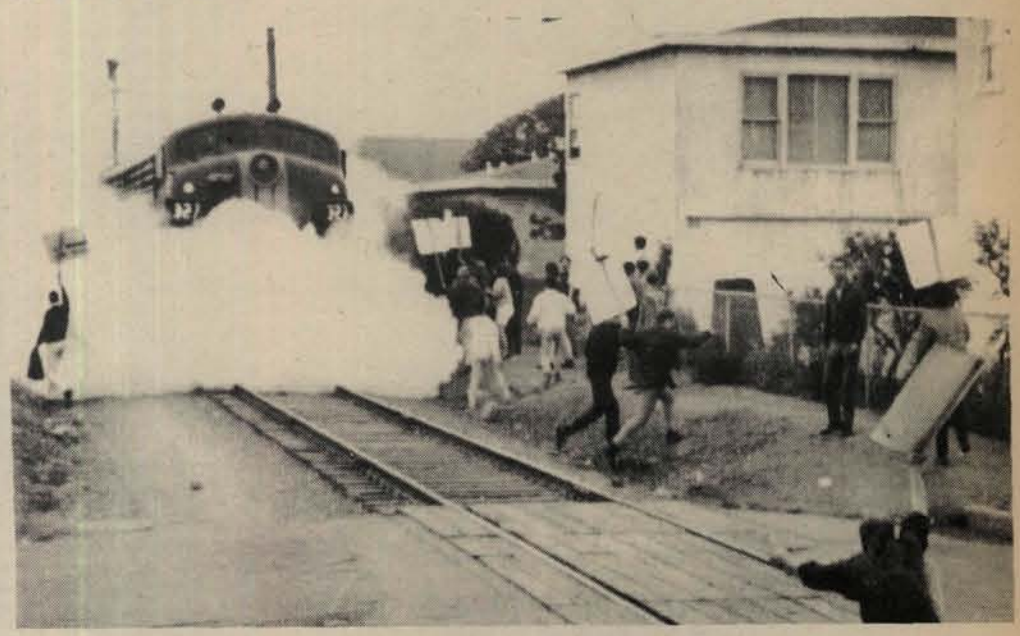
How do these things happen? How did the Congress get around to subsidizing mathematicians in the first place? And why this particular mathematician?

In the old days, the theory was that Congress lawfully could appropriate public funds only for purposes enumerated in the Constitution. Smale's research has nothing whatever to do with raising an army, maintaining a navy, regulating commerce, coining money, or laying taxes. He breathes the rarefied air of pure research. He deals in "ordinary and partial differential equations and the relation between topology and particle physics." Where do you find *that* in the Constitution?

No one doubts that Smale is a brilliant fellow. In 1966 he received the Fields Medal, sometimes described as the Nobel Prize in mathematics, for his theorem on the mapping of a sphere. When it comes to differential topology, he apparently is the best there is. At 37, he holds a full professorship at Berkeley, and Berkeley pays him well.

Neither is there any doubt about Smale's left-wing activism. As an undergraduate at the University of Michigan, 15 years ago, he was a member of the old Labor Youth League, a Communist front. At Berkeley he became faculty advisor to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He embraced the Free Speech Movement. He was a co-founder, with the notorious Jerry Rubin, of the Vietnam Day Committee. He is an inveterate signer of protest petitions.

University of California Prof. Stephen Smale (above) has had a long history of anti-war activities.



Anti-war demonstrators scurry for cover after attempting to block a troop train in Berkeley, Calif. Prof. Smale was one of the ringleaders in the plan to disrupt men and materiel moving to the front and was also a founder of the Viet Nam Day Committee.

If this were the whole of the story, conservatives and liberals alike could defend Smale's rights of free speech, and agree that his political views ought not to have any effect, one way or another, on his eligibility for a federal grant. Okay. Smale has gone farther. In his capacity as a co-chairman of the Vietnam Day Committee, he proposed in May 1965 that thousands of students and others block the gates of the Oakland army terminal. Also, "we might consider the en masse breaking of the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Selective Service Act."

In August 1965 Smale led a company of demonstrators who attempted to block troop trains at the Santa Fe Station in Berkeley. Earlier, Smale had urged that "we must put *our* bodies on the line," but when the train came down the tracks he chickened. His prodigal brain informed him that the body of Stephen Smale and the wheels of a locomotive could not simultaneously and successfully occupy the same point in space at the same time, unless the body of S. Smale were speedily to be reduced to a differential equation; so he got out of the way. Nevertheless, he and his colleagues were here going beyond mere expression of opinion.

Smale's demonstration of grantsmanship began early in 1965, when he was named principal investigator on an NSF grant totaling $58,900; his share, for two months' summer salary, was $4,800. In 1966 he won a two-year grant for $91,500, including $12,112 for his summer salary and for travel. The new grant is for $87,500, of which $17,868 is to go to Smale directly for summer work in 1968 and 1969. This adds up to $238,900 put under the gentleman's thumb. His own take, for a total of 10 months' research and travel, is $34,780.

The ultimate irony is that Smale probably can ride this gravy train forever. A few months ago the NSF exuded some skepticism that Smale really had spent two months in the summer of 1966 in actual research; they suspected he was junketing. The NSF also complained mildly of Smale's loose administration of the grant money. Whereupon a terrible clamor arose within the groves of academe, and the NSF was accused of trying to punish Smale because of his political views.

Meanwhile, Indiana's Congressman Dick Roudebush was raising hell at the prospect of giving Smale another dime. In the end, the NSF caved in, invoked the holy name of academic freedom, and gave Smale the money. The next time he wants to besiege an induction center, he won't have to walk. He can go by cab.

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NEWSPAPER

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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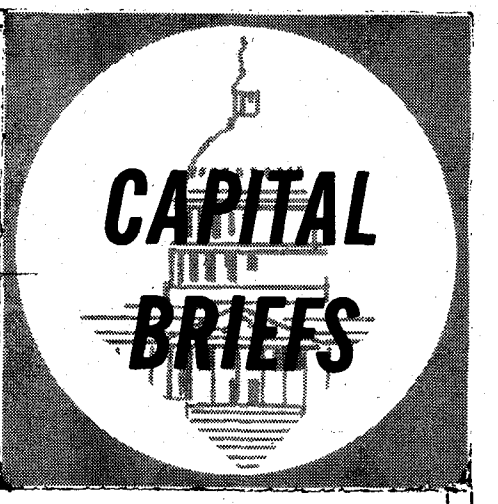

● **Wedding note:** Did the man who married Lyndon Johnson's daughter Lynda at the White House last Saturday vote in 1964 for Sen. Barry Goldwater? Bridegroom **Chuck Robb** is not saying anything himself, and his Marine buddies are hedging their remarks, but indications are that three years ago Capt. Robb voted against his future father-in-law. "I think Chuck voted for Goldwater, but maybe you shouldn't mention that now," a former Marine friend of Robb's, Robert Costa, told the Chicago Daily News. Later Costa, who was stationed with Robb at Camp Lejeune, N.C., elaborated that "I couldn't say whether Chuck voted for Goldwater . . . but, at the time, the sentiment of most of the young lieutenants at Lejeune was for Goldwater."

● Though **Shirley Temple Black** has not endorsed the move, a campaign is being launched by conservative San Mateo County Republicans to elect the former child movie star to Congress on a write-in ballot December 12. The campaign, in the form of chain letters being sent every registered Republican, is being spearheaded by Lt. Cmdr. H. Richard O'Hara (USN-Ret.) and Dr. Maurice A. Bliss, both Hillsborough residents active in United Republicans of America. A broad range of Republicans are said to be miffed with ex-Marine Paul McCloskey, who beat Mrs. Black for the nomination in November, because of his dovish stance on Viet Nam and his catering to Democratic voters who supplied him with nearly half his primary votes.

● Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.), who is bidding to dislodge LBJ from the Democratic ticket in 1968, says that America must be willing to accept a **regime in Saigon** "that is not particularly friendly to us" and has "Communist influence in it" as part of the price for an early settlement of the Viet Nam war.

● **Sen. McCarthy** will make "reform" of the draft a major campaign issue. Emasculation is a better word. The Minnesotan favors a revision of Selective Service regulations so that individuals who object only to certain wars; i.e., Viet Nam, can be classified as conscientious objectors.

● Florida Republicanism seems to be on the march with the advent of **Claude Kirk** as governor. Last week four GOPers were elected to Jacksonville's 19-member city council and thus became the first Republicans ever elected to any office in the city.

● Human Events readers are making it very uncomfortable for members of the House who voted to kill a motion by Rep. H. R. Gross that would have incorporated the **Gross-Findley amendment** into the foreign aid bill. The Gross-Findley proposals were designed to cut off aid to countries that were carrying on commerce with Hanoi in both goods and weapons. As a result of our November 25 article on the subject, House members opposed to these amendments have been receiving angry mail from their constituents. Conservative congressmen say they're grateful to Human Events' readers and hope they continue to make it hot for House lawmakers who oppose the United States' best interest on these and other matters.

● Security officials report that the tumultuous **anti-draft demonstrations** held last week in New York were organized by individuals with close ties to the Communist party. Among them: Steven Cagan, executive secretary of the New York branch of the Communist-controlled W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

● **Barry Goldwater** will stop writing his column beginning January 1 of the new year, in order to concentrate on his race for the Arizona Senate seat now occupied by 90-year-old Carl Hayden (see page 5 for more on Hayden).

● Broadminded Liberals Dept.: Gift subscriptions to Human Events under our Conservative Leadership Fund have been well-received by editors and broadcasters around the country. But not by **Peter Barnes,** a Washington correspondent for Newsweek magazine. Hardly in the tradition of John Stuart Mill, the English philosopher who felt that all sides of any argument should be studied, Barnes wrote us last week: "This is to inform you that if you do not cease clogging my mailbox—both at home and at work—with your useless trash, I shall blow up your office. I'm not kidding." So if you don't receive your copy of Human Events next week, you'll know why.

● Another possibility for McNamara's job: Secretary of the Air Force **Harold Brown.** Brown, once the Pentagon's chief of research, has been an avid believer in McNamara's disarmament policies.

● Dr. **Martin Luther King,** who is apparently supporting "Black Power" efforts to get Negroes to boycott the Olympics, says he will launch prolonged, disruptive demonstrations in Washington next spring with the help of anti-war groups. Blaming violence and racism on American society and the federal government, King declares that unless the United States responds to his pleas of massive subsidies for the poor and removal of racial discrimination, the country will be rocked by the worst violence ever.

● Insiders are saying that **Bobby Kennedy** does not really believe he can wrest the nomination away from LBJ in 1968, but that he hopes Eugene McCarthy and the appeasement wing of the Democratic party can put enough "peacenik pressure" on LBJ so that he will be forced to dump Hubert and tap Bobby for the vice presidential nomination. Given the Kennedy family ambition, this is hard to believe, but many who should know insist it is true.

● Cuba has developed a new system for the laboring man. Called the **"guerrilla production movement,"** groups of workers must remain on their jobs for days without going home until their production goal has been completed. Havana radio insists this "is a wonderful movement. Its strength has already become evident in all labor sections, especially in agriculture and industry."

● Cuban exiles in Florida have persuaded the manager of Jacksonville's National Educational Television station to show a film countering NET's pro-Castro production, **"Report from Cuba"** (see Human Events, November 25, page 9). The exiles sponsored a rebuttal program featuring Luis V. Manrara, founder and president of "The Truth About Cuba Committee, Inc." of Miami.

● In the wake of McNamara's leaving and the probable resignation of Arthur Goldberg as envoy to the United Nations, LBJ is scouting around for Republicans to take on **top posts** within his Administration. Among those he is reportedly considering for office: Henry Cabot Lodge, Robert B. Anderson and former Gov. William Scranton.

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Coalition Gov't for Viets?

Is the U.S. trying to force South Viet Nam into a coalition government with the Viet Cong? That's the burning question that keeps cropping up in diplomatic circles. Last week, however, two Administration officials appeared to have opposing views on the subject.

RUSK

In a speech to the National Association of Manufacturers in New York, Secretary of State Dean Rusk seemed to scotch any rumors that the Administration was thinking in coalition terms. To the delight of veteran anti-Communists, the secretary warned that the U.S. must not accede to any Viet Nam settlement that parallels the experiment in Laos.

Rusk recalled that President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev "agreed in principle, in Vienna in June 1961" that everyone should "leave Laos alone and let the Laotians work out their own destiny. . . ." But this fond solution, said Rusk, completely failed.

Noting that the United States compromised in Laos, the secretary asked, "What did we get for it?" Answering his own question, Rusk replied that the North Vietnamese violated the agreement by remaining in Laos, continuing to use it as an infiltration route into South Viet Nam, and by obstructing the work of the coalition government and the International Control Commission.

Thus, he said, "We feel we know something about what the other side means when they talk about coalition government and neutralization of a country, and so we want to know with considerable precision just what it is that people mean when they put forward various proposals affecting Viet Nam."

Yet not 24 hours later, Vice President Hubert Humphrey was resuscitating the coalition idea, albeit in somewhat cautious terms. In a prerecorded radio program (CBS News: "Classroom U.S.A."), Humphrey stressed there were many "non-Communist members" of the National Liberation Front (political arm of the Viet Cong). "Now it is possible," Humphrey related, "that there may be a split within the NLF—I don't know. I think so. And it may be that at some future date, that some of the non-Communist members of the NLF may very well want to be brought into a government and may very well be the very ones we have to negotiate with."

Veteran diplomats are concerned at the apparent divergence in the thinking of the secretary of state and Humphrey. Moreover, they think Humphrey, by publicly suggesting that the U.S. is now ready to accept members of the NLF into a coalition government, is only encouraging the NLF to hold out for even more concessions.

How, some would also like to know, is Humphrey going to detect the "real" Communists from the "non-Communists" in the NLF? The vice president, it is recalled, was once a supporter of both Mao Tse-tung and Fidel Castro.

Asian experts are, in fact, very much in favor of a program of welcoming back former VCs. But it is one thing to embrace those who have repudiated the Communist-controlled NLF and its goals and quite another to place belligerent NLF members, though technically "non-Communist," in positions of power where they could disrupt any coalition government.

Humphrey's attitude is indeed strange. The vice president, it is recalled, clashed sharply with Bobby Kennedy in 1966 when Bobby advocated bringing some NLF elements into a "compromise government." Humphrey retorted then that this would be like putting "a fox in a chicken coop; soon there wouldn't be any chickens left." Now, apparently, Humphrey looks with more favor on the NLF. And the question outsiders looking in will have to decide is who is speaking for the United States: Rusk or Humphrey?

Newsmen are fuming at the doctoring of LBJ's press conference texts. The President recently said Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.), chairman of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee, would "rue" the day for blocking tax action; the official transcript reads "regret." Johnson said some lawmakers "were" involved in spreading Cabinet resignation rumors; the transcript reads "could be." The Wall Street Journal *says reporters "scoff at claims that the changes aim only to clarify."*

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Model Pork Barrel Plan

Additional information has come to light revealing that LBJ's "model cities" program, touted as a tool to alleviate grinding poverty in the ghettoes, is just another version of the political pork barrel. *Human Events* in its December 2nd issue unveiled some of the shenanigans involved, including the following: Less than 12 hours after the controversial program passed the House, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Robert Weaver announced that 63 cities were due to receive model city funds. Of the 63 cities, only nine were represented by Republicans.

WEAVER

One grant went to Manchester, N.H., whose representative, Republican Louis Wyman, switched his vote at the last minute to help save the model cities legislation. Another went to Smithville, Tenn., which, by strange coincidence, is the home of Rep. Joe Evins (D.), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee that handles Weaver's budget.

Other subcommittee members who wanted and received model city grants for their districts included Edward Boland (D.-Mass.) for Springfield; Robert Giaimo (D.-Conn.) for New Haven; David H. Pryor (D.-Ark.) for Texarkana and Wyman.

Now the reliable *Congressional Quarterly* comes up with some new facts as well. Funds, it seems, also went to communities represented by two House Democrats who recently played major roles in salvaging the Administration's anti-poverty program. These were Pikeville, Ky. (5,000), represented by House Education and Labor Committee Chairman Carl D. Perkins, and Tampa, Fla. (350,000), represented by Sam M. Gibbons.

In addition, money was designated for four communities in LBJ's home state of Texas: Not only large-sized cities like San Antonio (645,000) and Waco (105,000), but Texarkana (32,000) and Eagle Pass (14,000). Two of the cities were represented by the chairmen of House committees—Texarkana by Banking and Currency Committee Chairman Wright Patman and Waco by Agriculture Committee Chairman W. R. Poage. Patman's panel approved the original authorization for the model cities program.

• The Model Cities program, moreover, may turn out to be an extension of the anti-poverty boondoggle. It develops that the 63 cities that received money may become partially, if not wholly, controlled by the "militant poor."

New guidelines require the low-income citizens in the "model city" to be put on planning payrolls and "be fully involved in policy-making, planning and the execution of all program elements." The "neighborhood citizen participation structure" must have "sufficient information about any matter to be decided for a sufficient period of time so that it can initiate proposals and react knowledgeably to proposals from others."

This "structure," presumably to resemble those community action groups financed by the anti-poverty program, will also be provided with "professional technical assistance" and financial assistance, including "baby sitting fees, reimbursement for transportation" and the like.

All in all it looks as if the U.S. Congress has created another program to fund firebrands with the taxpayers' dollars. Indeed, the militants are already aboard the program. Just two weeks ago a $10,000 employe of Philadelphia's model cities program, a leader in the "Black Power" movement, was charged with inciting to riot.

LBJ's New Institute

Urban experts are interested in a new organization that LBJ is forming called the Institute for Urban Development. The IUD is to be a research group that will function for the Department of Housing and Urban Development in much the same way as the Rand Corporation does for the nation's defense establishment.

The Rand Corporation receives millions of dollars in federal contracts a year for developing various defense studies. The proposed institute will draft papers on possible solutions to America's urban problems. HUD will reportedly chip in $10 million to get the institute started.

While this new "think tank" is the topic of much ballyhoo in Washington, many fear the institute will become a haven for far-out liberal theorists precisely because of the composition of the organizing panel.

Selected by LBJ, the six-man panel is overwhelmingly to the left of center. It includes such men as Prof. Richard E. Neustadt, head of the Kennedy Institute of Politics at Harvard University, and McGeorge Bundy, who, as head of the Ford Foundation, recently channeled over $100,000 into the Cleveland chapter of CORE, a militant "Black Power" outfit. Furthermore, the chairman of the organizing panel is the ubiquitous J. Irwin Miller, head of Cummins Engine Co. in Columbus, Ind. Considered to be among the radical breed of businessman, Miller is the first layman ever to be elected president of the leftist National Council of Churches and was a key organizer of the civil rights March on Washington in 1963.

BUNDY

Thus the reason for the belief that the new Institute for Urban Development will become a hiring hall for far-out social theorists who will, of course, be subsidized by the American taxpayer.

Soviets Harass 6th Fleet

Not content with having set off a war between Israel and the Arab states, the Soviet Union has decided to foment additional turmoil in the Mideast.

The growing Soviet armada in the Mediterranean has now begun deliberate harassment of the U.S. 6th Fleet. While the word harassment is avoided by American officials, photographic evidence of Russian ships barging through U.S. fleet formations provides proof positive that the Soviets have adopted this dangerous maneuver.

However, Washington, which still likes to toady to Moscow, has lodged no formal diplomatic protests.

Reporting from Italy, the Baltimore Sun's **Thomas Fenton writes: "With only one or two exceptions the photographic evidence of these new Russian tactics has never been released to the public. The pictures are shockers."**

One series reveals a Soviet electronics eavesdrop-

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per—a converted high-speed trawler—suddenly cutting across the bows of a fleet oiler and two destroyers refueling "underway" or in motion.

Naval ships refueling underway are literally tied to each other and have no room to maneuver. In this particular instance, notes Fenton, collision was avoided only by yards.

Other photographs show Russian destroyers plunging through 6th Fleet naval formations, cutting across the bow of supercarriers and the near sideswiping of other ships.

Says Fenton: "The harassment is no joke. It disrupts fleet operations, could involve loss of lives and is a clear sign of Russian determination to stake its claims in a sea that has long been the preserve of Western nations."

LBJ's Christmas Bonuses

LBJ continues to reward his friends with cushy little Christmas bonuses. First, earlier this year he gave a plush $26,000-a-year job on the Subversive Activities Control Board to young Simon McHugh, a non-lawyer who found his fortunes rising as soon as he married ex-LBJ secretary and personal friend Victoria McCammon. Two weeks ago he had Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D.-Tex.) push through the Senate a Social Security amendment handing LBJ friend Paul Kilday an $8,400-a-year hike in retirement pay. Kilday was the only person to benefit from the legislation. Now he has decided to reward Sen. Yarborough for his efforts.

Last week LBJ awarded Yarborough's son, Richard, who has been on his father's payroll as an administrative assistant for the past 10 years, a nice job as an Indian Claims commissioner. The post pays $26,000—$3,500 more per annum than the job young Yarborough currently holds. Such is the way LBJ operates his spoils system.

Copper Strike

It would seem that after almost a century of dealing with organized labor, American management would have learned never to underestimate the coercive strength of unions. The current situation in the copper industry, however, shows this is not the case.

For the past five months 22 separate unions representing workers in the nonferrous metal industry have been waging a nationwide strike against the four major copper-producing companies. The major points at issue in the strike are wage and benefit increases; the industry has called the unions' demands "highly inflationary" and the unions have called management's offers "unrealistic," and the prospects are good for a continued stalemated strike situation in this vital industry.

Since the beginning of the strike in July the struck companies have been able to meet clients' needs out of well-stocked inventories, but now, says an industry spokesman, "a copper shortage looms which could seriously affect the consumer, industry and defense."

One of those most seriously hit by this new development will be the government, which uses copper in arms, ammunition and missiles.

The most immediate reason the unions have been able to mount this strike was documented and predicted by *Human Events* April 29, 1967, in a story on the merger between the two largest unions in the copper industry: the Steelworkers and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Mine-Mill had been booted from the old CIO in 1950 because of Communist domination, but 17 years later it merged with the Steelworkers and was allowed back in the AFL-CIO despite the presence of several officers—including the top three executives—who had previous close Communist ties.

The major economic factor in the merger was the desire of the two unions to present a "united front" at the bargaining table when copper contracts were negotiated. When researching the merger article, *Human Events* contacted an official of the Kennecott Co., the nation's leading copper producer, to ask if the company expected any difficulties in negotiating with the new merged unions; the official's response was that there would be no difficulties as "we have dealt with both unions before and don't expect much difference with the merger."

Kennecott is one of the four producers that have been shut down for five months because of the merger. And, after having been initially unrealistic and ignorant of the implications of the merger, the copper companies are now decrying the "coalition" bargaining the unions are demanding. Another sad case of management failing to comprehend the power of Big Labor.

Reds Cause Riots

Loaded with "Great Society" liberals, the President's Commission on Civil Disobedience is expected to propose soon a massive spending program in America's urban areas on the grounds that money cures riots and rioters.

Yet there is little proof that poverty is the cause of the riots at all. The President's Commission, in fact, because of preconceived notions has been tiptoeing around the real problem: Communists and black nationalism.

Liberal columnist Carl T. Rowan, himself a proponent of heavy subsidization of the Negro poor, reveals that the civil disobedience commission has been receiving some hard facts about the role of extremists in the city riots. Notes Rowan:

• FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has said there was no national conspiracy to foment the riots that plagued at least 27 communities last summer. "Yet, it has been emphasized to the commission that Hoover did not say there were no local conspiracies. Investigators have compiled convincing and unsettling evidence that black 'revolutionaries' and white 'colleagues' had well-organized advance plans to exploit and spread the violence in Detroit and Newark."

• Investigators have become "intrigued by the activities of several white women who have been active in, or on the fringe of, the most bellicose black nationalist groups. There is evidence that at least some of these women are the conduits for money that is being fed to these revolutionary groups."

• The FBI and "other intelligence sources have turned up pretty solid evidence that Communist China used an elaborate international set of conduits to put $1 million into Philadelphia for use by the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). This is the group whose New York leaders were arrested on charges of plotting to kill NAACP and Urban League leaders Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young along with other civil rights moderates."

Rowan, however, indicates that the commission may be reluctant to bare the full extent of the material uncovered on the grounds that to overplay the "Red China" aspect is to "play into the hands of those white Americans who would like to convince the country that the entire civil rights movement is 'Communist-inspired.' "

In other words, more news management from the "government knows best" forces.

The Poverty Mess

Congressional conservatives are hardly pleased with the Senate-House conference report on the Administration's anti-poverty measure. Under this so-called "compromise" version of the poverty legislation, now expected to be adopted by both Houses, LBJ has received a stunning victory. The proposal which emerged after 11 days of negotiations calls for an authorization of $1.98 billion for the current fiscal year and $2.18 billion for the following year. Shriver, himself, said he could get along with $1.7 billion.

JOHNSON

Senate conferees, led by Sens. Joseph Clark (D.-Pa.) and the Kennedy brothers, also eliminated a House amendment that would have required local anti-poverty agencies to put up money before the federal government would chip in. The only "concession" to some conservative-minded lawmakers was that the new version would permit local governments to assume greater control over community action organizations. But this measure has its drawbacks in that it will also help beef up many Democratic machines in the big cities. When the vote is taken on final passage, *Human Events* will be sure to print the names of those who helped to balloon the budget of this scandal-ridden program.

House Passes Anti-Red Bill

Under the leadership of Reps. Edwin Willis (D.-La.) and John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio), the House last week passed by 269-to-104 a bill to breathe new life into the now controversial Subversive Activities Control Board (see rollcall, page 15).

WILLIS

Reported out favorably by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the bill would have the SACB, upon petition by the attorney general, conduct hearings on whether organizations are Communist or Communist-dominated.

If the board determines any group is in one of these categories, the organization and its members would be publicly listed with the attorney general. The House bill would require organizations found to be subversive to so state in any solicitation of funds. A less stringent bill has already passed the Senate.

Advocates of the House bill say its passage is essential to the continued effective functioning of the SACB. The present law calls for self-registration of members of Communist organizations, but no one has registered because the Supreme Court has held that such a requirement amounts to self-incrimination, a violation of the 5th Amendment.

While Rep. John Culver (D.-Iowa) and other liberals charged that the House bill would violate civil liberties, Reps. Willis and Ashbrook rebutted that hearings before the SACB are quasi-judicial, and those accused can bring lawyers to cross-examine accusers. Furthermore, even after an adverse finding by the board, organizations and individuals can appeal such findings to the courts.

During debate over the bill, liberals (and even some House conservatives) argued that the SACB, in existence since 1950, hadn't really worked very hard to expose Communists.

Supporters of the SACB disagree. In the 17 years of its existence, the board, even with court restrictions, has disposed of 70 separate petitions brought before it by the attorney general. These cases concerned 26 Communist organizations and the membership of 44 individuals in the Communist party. Orders to register have been entered against 16 Communist organizations (eight of these orders became final) and 44 individual Communist party members.

Even though the courts have frustrated the registration provisions, the SACB has provided invaluable information on communism through its hearings and findings and has allowed the public to gain essential material on Communist operations that it could not have gathered elsewhere.

Unlike the operations of the FBI or the CIA, the principle function of the SACB is to reveal the nature of Communist organizations for the public. The New House measure, according to security experts on the Hill, will give the SACB the additional tools necessary to do exactly that.

More from that AFL-CIO meeting in Florida. Federation President George Meany and Co. say they won't heed any Administration warnings to restrain wage demands. But dissatisfaction with the government on this count won't prevent Big Labor from opposing any Republican. To underscore labor's antipathy toward the GOP, Alexander Barkan, director of the federation's Committee on Political Education (COPE), branded likely LBJ-opponents Nixon, Romney, Reagan and Rockefeller as "anti-labor."

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POLITICS '68

GOP GOVERNORS

Republican liberals are apparently planning a whole series of maneuvers to set the tone of the 1968 GOP **presidential convention:**

VOLPE

• As reported here last week, they are already pushing liberal Gov. **Dan Evans** of Washington to be the keynote speaker, with Governors Spiro T. Agnew of Maryland, John Volpe of Massachusetts and John Chafee of Rhode Island leading the way.

• The liberal governors meeting in Palm Beach this past weekend were also trying to sponsor a series of **regional platform meetings** aimed at committing the GOP to "progressive" policies. Helping to spark the move: Gov. Raymond Shafer of Pennsylvania. Shafer proposed that a small task force of governors run a series of public hearings on domestic and foreign policy issues in seven areas of the country. His purpose: to offset the conservative bent of some Republican congressional leaders, including Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen, who is expected to be platform committee chairman.

• The liberal GOP governors are already moving to shape platform positions. A policy committee, headed by Gov. **Nelson A. Rockefeller** (R.-N.Y.), has prepared data on 20 major domestic issues as a basis for platform talks.

ARIZONA

Sen. Carl Hayden's (D.-Ariz.) staffers deny it with some vigor, but rumors continue to spread on Capitol Hill that the 90-year-old Hayden has decided not to run for re-election in 1968 and is grooming **Roy L. Elson,** his liberal administrative assistant who's been with him for 14 years, to be his replacement. If Elson does capture the Democratic primary, he will most likely square off against Barry Goldwater, who is already openly campaigning for Hayden's seat.

HAYDEN

The 38-year-old Elson narrowly lost to conservative Republican **Paul Fannin** in 1964 when both were battling for the Senate seat Goldwater vacated after he won the GOP presidential nomination.

OREGON

Sen. **Wayne Morse,** a long-time fixture around Capitol Hill, may no longer be in Congress by January 1969. The maverick lawmaker, who made it to the Senate by currying favor with the unions and preaching "Populist" politics, continues to be in **deep trouble.**

MORSE

Morse's chief concern is former Rep. **Robert B. Duncan,** who lost a close race to Republican Mark Hatfield for the Senate last year. Duncan, who wants to dump Morse in the May primary, has already announced he will take on Oregon's senior senator because of his slipping popularity.

The Don Muchmore poll of California gave Duncan 59 per cent of the vote last January, Morse 34 per cent. A July poll by Bardsley & Haslacher handed Duncan a 58-to-35 advantage. Even more ominous was a straw poll taken among delegates to an **AFL-CIO convention** that went 3 to 1 against the maverick senator.

Duncan's popularity edge over Morse was believed to have stemmed partly from **Duncan's hawkishness** and **Morse's dovishness,** but Duncan has decided to shift his campaign strategy against Oregon's senior senator—a move that reveals growing dissatisfaction with both LBJ and Viet Nam among the voters.

Duncan now indicates he will not make the Viet Nam war a major issue. "I'm in favor of all **peace alternatives** and negotiation," Duncan states. "I know of no one who advocates unilateral withdrawal, including our senior senator." Duncan insists there "is very little to argue about. . . ."

Even more interesting are Duncan's remarks suggesting he will be running **away from LBJ** in 1968. Once promoting himself as LBJ's man in Oregon, Duncan reversed himself just last week: "I never once said I was supporting President Johnson. I've disagreed with the Administration on any number of tactical decisions that have been made over the years."

OHIO

Sen. Stephen Young (D.-Ohio), a persistent critic of the Viet Nam war, says he will run as a **favorite son candidate in Ohio** in a move aimed at recording a 1968 Democratic convention protest against President Johnson's Viet Nam policies.

YOUNG

Young says that if he wins the designation in the May 7 primary, the Ohio delegation will be bound to vote for him on the first ballot at the Chicago presidential nominating convention.

"A first-ballot vote for me would be interpreted as a **protest against Viet Nam** war policies," said Young. "There is a great deal of antiwar sentiment in Ohio. The President's popularity is not very high there and I don't believe he would do very well if his name were on the ballot."

Young denied he was a "stalking horse" for either Senators **Eugene McCarthy** (D.-Minn.) or **Robert Kennedy** (D.-N.Y.) and said that after the initial ballot delegation members would be free to vote as they wanted to.

But Young's decision to seek the favorite-son designation, backed by state party officials, adds to the evidence that LBJ is going to have a tougher time being renominated than he did in 1964.

REAGAN

A well-mapped plan to embarrass California Gov. **Ronald Reagan** backfired last week at Yale University. Invited by the school to spend three days on campus as a Chubb fellow, Reagan encountered incredible hostility.

At least one professor snickered and motioned derisively to his students as Reagan delivered a lecture. And when Reagan asked for questions from his audience, he was peppered with **"loaded" queries** designed to put him on the spot. The questions were the handiwork of campus leftists who distributed mimeographed copies before each Reagan appearance.

But Reagan came out on top. As Richard Dougherty of the Los Angeles Times reported: "The undergraduates themselves were astonished at the **good humor** with which he met the attack."

Expecting a glib, empty-headed actor, the students were surprised by Reagan's grasp of the issues and by his **breadth of knowledge.** "We thought we could put him down without any trouble," one young Yalie said later. "But he surprised us."

McCARTHY

Los Angeles Times reporter Richard Bergholz says that Sen. **Eugene McCarthy's entrance** into the presidential race "unquestionably increases the chance that President Johnson might lose this state's delegation at the national convention in August.

McCARTHY

"Polls already have shown that it would be close—even before McCarthy's decision, which was announced in Washington."

It still isn't certain that the anti-Johnson forces, led by the radical **California Democratic Council,** will unite behind McCarthy in the June primary, says Bergholz, but "his announcement certainly pushes things in that direction.

"CDC State Treasurer Lawrence (Lorry) Sherman said: 'We now have a **rally point** and from this point on, we can really begin to move.'"

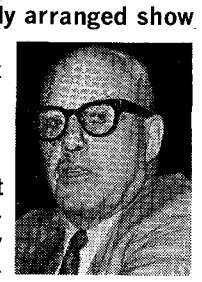
The **State Poll** published in September, Bergholz pointed out, "showed that a slate of Democratic convention delegates supporting Mr. Johnson conceivably could lose to a 'peace delegation' in the California primary."

• Sen. McCarthy has **shifted his stand** somewhat by refusing to say that he will support LBJ for re-election in 1968 if the President is renominated. "I would find it very difficult to support the Republican nominee," he said, "but I don't think anyone ought to say a year or six months before the election that they will support the nominee of a party no matter who he may be."

• Reporter David S. Broder of the Washington Post says that indications "from Democratic officials and newsmen in **Wisconsin, Oregon** and **California**" are that McCarthy will "find significant support in all three states."

LABOR BACKS LBJ

The AFL CIO meeting in Miami Beach last week was a **carefully arranged show** in support of LBJ, with federation President George Meany in sure command. No fewer than five Cabinet members, four sub-Cabinet members and Vice President Hubert Humphrey were invited to heap lavish praise on the federation which, in turn, made it plain that it was in Lyndon's corner in 1968.


MEANY

Meany, himself, issued a **campaign speech** on behalf of the Johnson Administration. "The labor movement must back" Lyndon Johnson in the 1968 presidential election despite the "unpopular" war in Viet Nam, claimed Meany.

He also said the 14-million member labor federation supports LBJ's war policies as well as his **domestic programs** on education, anti-poverty and slum rebuilding. Meany said labor's interests were also closely tied to both the Johnson Administration and liberal Democrats in Congress and that union members in voting next year must "see to it we get a Congress that understands the problems of the workers."

In short, Meany made it plain that the officials of organized labor—if not the workingmen—were going **all out for Johnson** no matter who the GOP nominated.

WALLACE

Former Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, according to a Gallup poll, has almost **doubled his support** as a third-party presidential candidate this year, largely at the expense of the Republicans.

WALLACE

Whereas Wallace drew 7 per cent of the national vote a year ago, last month he received 12 per cent. **President Johnson** led with 44 per cent and former Vice President **Richard M. Nixon** had 36 per cent. The remaining 8 per cent were undecided, with no other candidates listed. (Since presidential elections are won on a statewide rather than national basis, however, the figures are more indicative of trends than precise predictions of electoral vote.)

The poll definitely indicated that a **Wallace bid** would damage the Republican party the most. When voters were asked to choose between Johnson and Nixon without considering Wallace, the President led by only 47 per cent to 43 per cent.

The Gallup poll showed Wallace's strongest support in the South, where he led Nixon 32 per cent to 25 per cent, with LBJ in the lead with 40 per cent. The East gave Wallace only 2 per cent of the vote, the mid-West 8 per cent and the West 11 per cent.

ILLINOIS

Republican Senate leader Everett Dirksen is resisting demands that he become **Illinois' favorite-son candidate** at the GOP's presidential nominating convention in Miami. A recent Hooper-McLendon telephone poll, however, reveals that he has a higher standing among the state's voters than junior colleague Sen. **Charles Percy,** who has been eagerly seeking the favorite-son role in order to influence Illinois delegates toward backing a liberal candidate for President—possibly even Percy himself.

DIRKSEN

But the Hooper poll shows that 78 per cent of the Republicans polled think Dirksen is doing a "good" or "excellent" job in Congress, whereas only 64.4 of the Republicans think Percy has done as well. Dirksen also scored better among Democrats and Independents. Nevertheless, Dirksen has reportedly made a **deal with Percy** not to contest him for favorite son if Dirksen winds up as platform chairman.

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An International Telecast

By MORRIE RYSKIND

(Foreword: A rumor from a highly reliable source—indeed, I started it—led me to this scoop. In line with our cultural exchange policy, two European statesmen will shortly be airing their views daily on American TV. Herewith is the gist of the pilot film I caught on a closed circuit.)

De Gaulle: Good evening. This is Chuck de Gaulle from Paris.

Kosygin: And I am Alex Kosygin from Moscow, USSR—and tomorrow the world.

De G.: Alex, how do you react to the news that McNamara is leaving his defense post?

K.: It bodes ill unless someone of the stature of Dr. Spock succeeds him. For, while McNamara is a capitalist, he is non-violent and so prevented the Pentagon from hitting crucial targets in North Viet Nam. But if the Washington junta now takes off its wraps and thus forces Ho to negotiate, Asia might be lost to the Communist world. Thus, the USSR may be forced to intervene against the colonial imperialists.

De G.: I agree wholeheartedly. Give those militarists an inch and they take a meter. We invited them over in 1917 and again in 1941 for a friendly visit, and all we get is some snide remarks about some alleged debts. All they think about is money!

K.: You're telling *me?* We saved them when the Japs had them down and out, and the only thanks we got was a couple of lousy sandwiches at Glassboro. It's McCarthyism all over again!

De G.: And their European satellite is just as bad. The English say they've abandoned colonialism, but they refuse to return Quebec, which is in the very heart of France. It was wrested from Montcalm in a sneak napalm attack by that war criminal Wolfe, who was financed by Dow Chemical. How right Napoleon was when he coined the phrase "perfidious Albion."

K.: Napoleon was right, but he was only quoting. That phrase was originally used by Pushkin.

De G.: Are you sure?

K.: Definitely. Only last month *Pravda* ran an article about that. I'll send you a copy. And now time out for our sponsor.

Commercial: Don't be caught using obsolete weapons when fighting imperialists! We have the very latest equipment—ask Ho. Red trading stamps with each sale. For further information, call Vladivostok 983-6420.

De G.: What chance is there, what with the Hessians in Viet Nam and the Israeli Nazis in the Middle East, that World War III can be averted?

K.: All it requires is that the American Jingoes come to the conference table so that we may reason together. Observe how well we got along at Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam.

De G.: Ah, yes, those were the good old days! But suppose a hawk succeeds McNamara?

K.: Do not forget the possibility that America's downtrodden masses will arise. After all, they have nothing to lose but their chain stores. And note that even now there are riots in the streets and the schools against police brutality—in general, the situation is not unlike that which preceded the glorious Bolshevik Revolution. The dollar is in danger. . . .

De G.: I'm doing all I can in that direction, tovarishch.

K.: And the USSR will not forget it. Comes the Revolution, you shall have Quebec back, I promise you!

De G.: And what about the territory involved in the Louisiana Purchase? Napoleon was palpably swindled when he let that go at about 4 cents an acre. There must be restitution!

K.: After we've freed Louisiana from the colonialists who have so exploited it, suppose we rule it together under a coalition government? Agreed?

De G.: Well, I will agree, tovarishch, provided you give me your word you will not treat this pact as you have some others.

K.: Scout's honor! (he crosses himself)

De G.: Then it's a deal! Well, it's been great fun talking to you. Good night, Alex.

K.: Good night, Chuck.

★ ★ ★

Not a dull show, by any means. I'll be watching for the ratings.

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□ □ □

THAT DAY HERE?—"I. W. Abel, president of the United Steel Workers of America, has predicted that in the 21st Century employers may have to 'pay people for not working.' Some employers contend that day already has arrived."—From the Richmond *News Leader*

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Why does Bobby Kennedy (left) apparently refuse to make use of those like Dr. Thomas Matthew who are already working in the slums on a non-governmental basis?

How to Bring Private Industry into the Slums

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

I'd like to be in Sen. Robert Kennedy's corner on his plan to bring private industry to such Negro slums as the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. The Kennedy proposition starts out bravely with something called the Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corp. There are some big names—David Lilienthal, Douglas Dillon, Thomas Watson—on the directorate of a second organization, the Bedford-Stuyvesant Development and Services Corp., which exists to raise money for the first.

Some projects are being started already. The Bedford-Stuyvesant region—600 blocks that contain more than 600,000 people—is being surveyed by its own inhabitants, and local craftsmen and promising apprentices are being hired to get busy on the exterior renovation of 15 blocks.

So far, so good. But it's still largely a government charity, working on a grant from the Department of Labor.

Maybe Bobby Kennedy, with the help of such people as the Messrs. Lilienthal, Dillon and Watson, all of whom have had plenty of business experience, will be able to bring private industry into the Bedford-Stuyvesant area. Bobby Kennedy's hope is to get tax credits for private corporations and housing developers who take on slum business projects. Since there is no such thing as a uniform tax dollar in the U.S. (we have graduated income taxes, special tax allowances for old people, and depletion allowances for oil, coal and iron ore companies), there is no valid reason for discriminating against the Kennedy idea.

The only thing that mystifies me is Bobby Kennedy's apparent refusal to make full use of the knowledge and aid of people who are already in the business of bringing private capital to the slums.

Dr. Thomas Matthew, the Negro neurosurgeon who has started a hospital and several private businesses in rundown areas of Queens and the Bronx tried to catch Sen. Kennedy's eye for a year or so, with no success. And something called the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity has been raising money from both the government and private sources (the Rockefeller Fund, the Ford Foundation, etc.) for more than four years to help Negroes get into various businesses.

This ICBO is directed by a bright young Negro named John T. Patterson, who found his own way to beat discrimination. When it was apparent that he would be turned down as a mutual fund salesman in Wall Street, he offered to take a job on a pure commission basis without a drawing account. He made good on the proposition, and eventually he opened his own brokerage business. Meanwhile he had managed to take a law degree.

The ICBO does counseling work on a no-fee basis and arranges for loans to small Negro businessmen who are willing to take good advice. Pepsi-Cola and IBM have both lent executives to ICBO for periods, which means that the counseling service has had expert direction.

In 1966 ICBO arranged for $350,000 in small business loans. Admittedly this has been a mere drop in the bucket of need, but it offers a beginning that has been rich in developing knowledge of the problems involved.

In 1967 ICBO really began to branch out, with 400 volunteer consultants in the four cities of New York, Newark, Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. It is now working on a plan with New York banks to guarantee loans for ICBO clients, which should bring capital to businessmen who have previously been turned down as "soft loan" propositions.

Organizations such as ICBO and Dr. Thomas Matthew's Negro Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO) begin small, but they deliver. Bobby Kennedy wants to do something grandiose. Maybe he'll deliver, too. But wouldn't the prospect for private enterprise in the slums improve if the two extremes would cooperate on meeting in the middle? There'd be enough glory for everyone, and the whole project of getting Negroes into their own businesses might get rolling sooner rather than later.

The present situation is such that any combination of beginnings is bound to be pitifully small anyway. New York City, for example, has a Negro population of over a million, but there are only a dozen or so Negro concerns employing as many as 10 persons. Meanwhile, white industry is scared off. Nobody is going to create immediate rivers of private enterprise in the slums, so why not concentrate on trying to turn the observable trickle into a few substantial brooks?

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Here's What's Behind Britain's Economic Mess

By ANTHONY LEJEUNE in the Indianapolis *Star*

London:—"I can tell you in two words why I'm going," said a 35-year-old company director who was standing in line at Australia House in London. "Harold Wilson."

The number of people wanting to emigrate from Britain, particularly professional people—lawyers, doctors, scientists, engineers, schoolteachers — has sharply increased again. Applications for visas at the American Embassy doubled in the week following devaluation, and are now running at about 100 a day.

Second thoughts about devaluation proved even gloomier than the first ones. Except for Labor party politicians and the little group of left-wing economists who always wanted to devalue, almost everybody is skeptical about the promised advantages.

The predictions made by industrial leaders are bleak; so bleak, indeed, that Wilson's secretary for economic affairs has expressed concern and asked their representatives to meet him.

He's unlikely to get much change out of them. They've worked out their sums and know that the extra incentives to export are very small and temporary, whereas the extra burdens imposed on industry by the devaluation package will almost certainly leave them worse off over the next 18 months.

The real reasons for Britain's economic plight remain untouched: some, in fact, have been aggravated. If only as a warning to other countries where similar troubles exist at least in embryo, it is worth recalling a few instructive, but very depressing, statistics.

A British bricklayer today lays 2,000 bricks per week for a wage of 35 pounds; before the last war a bricklayer layed 5,000 bricks for 3 pounds. The whole construction industry is riddled with unwritten featherbedding agreements — which limit paperhanging, for example, to six rolls per day and plastering to four square yards.

The output of coal per man-shift as a percentage of capital investment has actually fallen in spite of the huge sums plowed into modernizing coal mines.

Liverpool dockers still claim 16 men to a ship's hold, though the proliferation of dockside machinery makes it impossible for more than four men to do useful work.

And so on, in industry after industry. British workers produce, on average, about half as much as their American equivalents; and, though some of them seem unable to grasp the connection, their pay too is only half as much.

This explains, in the clearest possible way, why, during the past half-century, the value of the pound against the dollar has halved.

But the selfishness of unions and the slackness of management are not without excuse. Ever since the war people have felt themselves caught up in a vicious spiral. It is a startling fact, revealed by a recent survey, that, with the present rates of taxation and inflation (even before the additional inflation which devaluation will cause), manual workers need wage increases of 8.4 per cent a year to maintain a 3.4 per cent increase in net income, and a director earning 13,000 pounds a year will slip backwards if his annual increase isn't more than 8 per cent.

One small company, which is desperately trying to grow, recently announced that, out of an extra 50,000 pounds of business, only just over 1,000 pounds would be available to shareholders after all the business taxes had been paid—and that, too, was before devaluation.

Penal taxation has the effect of depressing salaries and wages all down the scale. Because it is virtually impossible to give senior executives a worthwhile after-tax raise, their subordinates' pay is limited by the need to preserve differentials.

These facts of business life seem simply not to have been understood by the leftward-leaning academic economists which this government has imported, in shoals, into Whitehall. Some of them are Marxists (one was at Oxford with me, and I know that he was a Communist then). Others merely have chips on their shoulders and heads in the clouds.

The sheer unrealism of their views is frightening. What can one make of people who say, and apparently believe, that money is not an important incentive nor confiscatory taxation a disincentive?

If I could give just one piece of advice to other countries seeking to avoid Britain's plight, perhaps it should be this: Let your businessmen get on with the job and, at all costs, keep professional economists out of the woodwork.

Angry Britons give vent to their feelings after hearing the announcement of the devaluation of the pound.

'New Deal' in New Delhi?

Reprinted from *Farmand*, the Norwegian Weekly

The developing countries—77 in all—have recently met around the conference table in Algiers for the purpose of deciding upon a concerted plan of action for use at the world conference on trade and development, to be held in New Delhi early next year. . . .

What the most radical of these countries are aiming at in New Delhi is obvious: a revolution in the world's economic structure, a revolt to rid them of their state of inferiority vis-a-vis the industrialized nations. The common denominator appears, in other words, to be the ancient one of illusion instead of realism.

For one thing, the developing countries are bitter at the failure of the raw-material agreements—framed to accord preference to their staple products. It is true that these agreements have not been successful, but the cause is not the alleged "imperialism" of the industrial countries.

The agreements have failed to produce the desired results because the paternalism of the raw-material-producing countries merely serves to foster grotesque anomalies—both in these countries' own production and in international trade. And the sensitive market economies of the West respond by trying to compensate for these irregularities by, for example, developing alternative products which can compete with the overpriced raw materials.

This situation is capable of two interpretations. One may claim, as do the developing countries, that technology is a kind of imperialist invention which works *against* such countries.

Or one can say that this tremendous scientific, technological, and industrial gap simply explains why the developing countries are economically backward—why they are underdeveloped in the first place.

The tragedy is that the developing countries—and their left-wing spokesmen—view the problem solely from the political angle. They simply will *not* accept the fact that it will take time, perhaps generations, to transform most of them into modern, industrial nations in the Western sense. They insist on making the transition *now*, in the course of a few years. Or, not to put too fine a point on it, in the lifetime of their present rulers.

This is only natural. Does any politician in a Western democracy look beyond his own term of office? There is no reason, then, why the politicians of the developing countries should be any better.

The problem is, however, that no one can walk on water, not even politicians. No revolt, no fanaticism, no amount of illusion can help the developing countries to bypass the intellectual, juridical, political, and cultural realities that are the prerequisites of a modern, industrial society and its superabundance of material benefits.

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Nagaland: India's "Viet Nam"?

An unknown conflict threatens to shake the fragile unity of India and renew a modern case of mass killing by the Indian Army. It may also be the next war in Asia and the next clash between Communist China and India, with the possible involvement of Pakistan and the United States.

The Nagas are presenty a non-Communist and even anti-Communist people in the India-Burma border area. During 1956-58, the Indian Army tried but failed to wipe out the Naga underground army; when the carnage was over, about 100,000 Nagas were dead. Now the Nagas' determination to be independent seems to be leading them to a renewed war with India. Faced with this prospect, they are now deciding whether to accept arms and support from Communist China, with the danger that this dependency might lead to future Chinese control.

Because the United States does not wish to offend India, U.S. officials have not expressed any interest in the Naga conflict, even though it threatens to involve a substantial part of India's army, our military supplies, and Communist China.

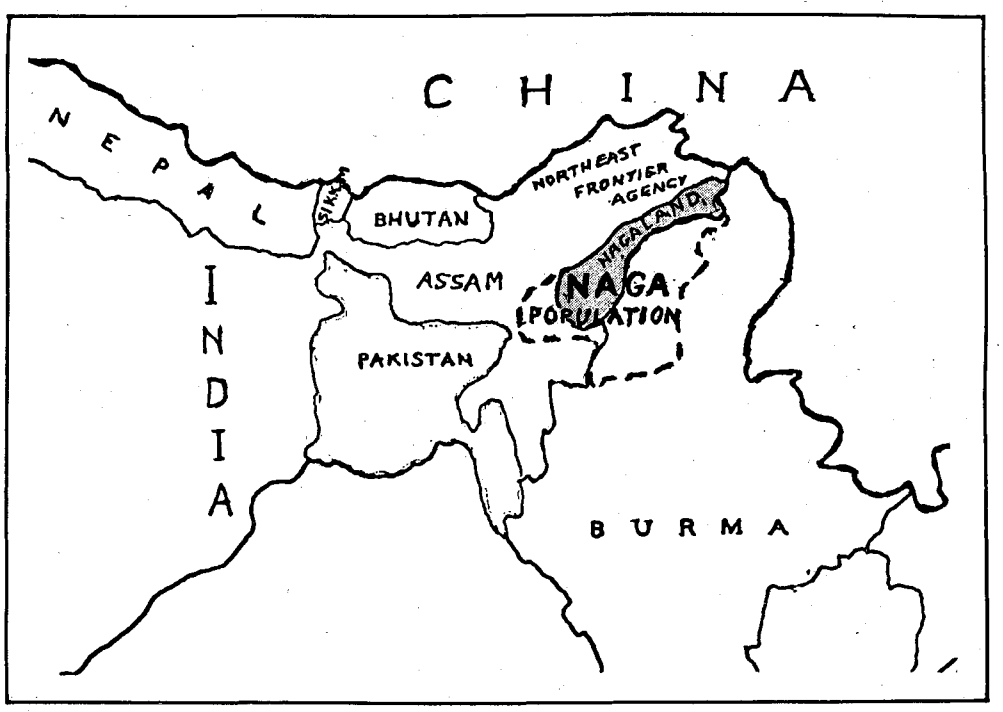
Indian-Naga negotiations have proved fruitless, except to continue a tenuous truce.

The conflict would seem to be hopelessly one-sided. On one hand is India, with 500 million people and an army of 500,000 men, 800 tanks, 2,500 artillery guns and 500 combat aircraft. On the other side are the Nagas, a people of about 700,000 in the northeast corner of India and 300,000 across the border in Burma.

The Nagas have a stringent supply of small arms and only two possible donors —Pakistan and Communist China. All other countries shun the Nagas as an internal problem of India. And even Pakistan and China cannot be relied upon by the Nagas, who realize very well that these two countries may only use them to tie down a part of the Indian Army while either Pakistan or China (or both) presses India elsewhere.

Though small supplies from the world arms market have filtered into Nagaland, carried by Nagas on foot over long distances, it is an arduous and unreliable process. The Nagas' recurrent nightmare must be that, in a war, they would get enough arms to fight, but not enough to win. Thus, their people would be turned into cannon fodder.

The two pictures on this page show young Nagas in training. The non-Communist group is preparing for an expected onslaught by Indian troops.



Map above shows Nagaland in red shading.

Yet in the past, the Nagas have employed classic guerrilla warfare techniques to hold the Indian Army to a standstill, though at a very high cost.

Prof. Bernard B. Fall, the U.S. expert on Viet Nam who was recently killed by a mine there, asked the U.S. Naval War College in 1964 to "look at the great Indian Army's stalemate by the Nagas. After 10 years of fighting, the Indian Army and government are now negotiating with the Nagas. They have, for all practical purposes, lost their counter-insurgency operations. In other words, losing an insurgency can happen to almost anybody. This is very important because one more or less comes to accept as 'fact' that to lose counter-insurgency operations happens only to the West."

For their pains, the Nagas are likely to feel the full brunt of the Indian Army, and probably soon. Until recently India was estimated to have 40,000-50,000 troops in Nagaland, but the Nagas say that the numbers have been increasing to about 80,000 now.

Just as ominous are the frequent newspaper reports in India indicating sentiment for striking now at the Nagas, rather than letting the military problem get worse. A representative Indian view was that of Nandan Kagal in the *Indian Express* in October: "If [the Indian Union] is worth preserving, the price must be paid, however cruel it might be. . . . The aspirations of the Nagas must necessarily be subordinated to the preservation of the Indian Union. The Naga independence movement is by definition a rebel movement. Since the Nagas cannot be talked into ending it, it can be ended only through military action. The longer the action is delayed, the more difficult it will become, and the price in lives lost on both sides will also be higher."

In other words, attack now before the Nagas train more men and get more supplies.

Nagaland's History

For about a hundred years after the British first came to Nagaland, the area was rather tranquil. The British kept a small force of perhaps 500 men at Kohima, as a deterrent to Naga raids into the Assam plains. Under the British system of indirect rule, the 16 Naga tribes were ruled by their tribal councils, with practically no British interference. Except for a reduced freedom to go raiding, the Nagas were not controlled by the British at all.

American Baptist missionaries came to the area, converting about 40 per cent of the people to Christianity and teaching English widely. It is thanks to these Americans that Nagaland has the highest literacy rate and the highest proportion of college graduates in all of Asia. For the Nagas, America and Britain became the models of culture.

In 1947 India became independent. Britain had no plan for Nagaland, even though it had excluded the area from administration by British India before independence. The Nagas demanded immediate independence too, and got nowhere.

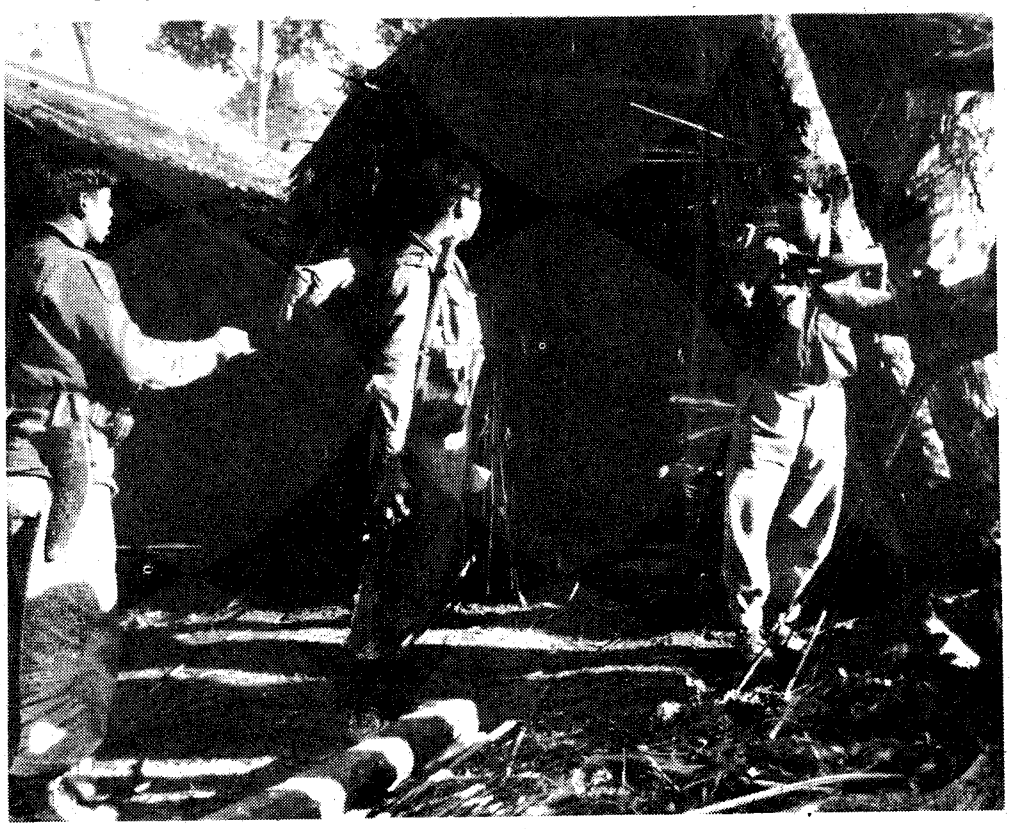
India expelled the U.S. missionaries over a period of years, charging that they were inciting the Naga independence movement. Desirous of pleasing India, with its vast population, Britain and the United States turned their backs on the Nagas, a people who had avidly assimilated U.S. and British culture, ways, language and religion.

In retrospect, the British abandonment of the Nagas was particularly callous, since the Nagas had fought

The United States has not exerted any leverage on the issue, despite our interests in the area and our role as India's principal source of aid—over 50 per cent of the aid to India has come from the United States and by 1967 the amount of our help will total between $6 and $7 billion.

Since India's independence in 1947, the Nagas have been trying to assert their own independence, based on their separate ethnic, racial, religious, cultural and linguistic identity from the people of India.

They point out that they were not considered part of British India and certainly never willingly joined the Indian Union. But their independence objective clashes head-on with India's insistence on holding Nagaland, lest other separatist parts of India follow the Naga example and break away. Thus, all



Paul Davis is the pseudonym of a foreign policy expert who works with a well-known foundation. Mr. Davis has a broad knowledge of India's domestic and foreign problems and has based this report on on-the-spot evidence gathered only recently.

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valiantly to defend British India against an invading Japanese army of 100,000 men in 1944.

The Japanese army attacked through Nagaland, left 50,000 dead in the Nagas Hills, and retreated. The commander of the British Army in that area, Field Marshall Slim, lavishly praised the Nagas who had "guided our columns, collected information, ambushed enemy patrols, carried our supplies, and brought in our wounded under the heaviest fire —and then, being the gentlemen they are, refused all payment."

Disputed Agreement

In June 1948 the Nagas made a fateful agreement with India which they thought would lead to their independence. It gave most internal rule to the Naga National Council. At the end of 10 years the agreement stated that "the Naga National Council will be asked whether they require the above agreement to be extended for a further period, or a new agreement regarding the future of the Naga people arrived at."

To the Nagas, this meant that after 10 years they could choose independence, and they made it clear to the Indian negotiators that they would certainly do so. They discovered after three years that India interpreted the agreement to mean that the Nagas could only choose what status they wanted within the Indian Union. Shortly after this, the Naga underground movement began. Taxes went unpaid and armed units began organizing.

The climax came in 1956. It is hard to believe that the Indian Army killed 100,000 Nagas out of a population then of about 600,000 in the Indian area, but the Nagas have detailed records of an endless stream of massacres, rapings and burning of villages from 1956 to 1958.

A large part of the population was regrouped forcibly from the hills to low-lying areas, and most of the deaths seem to have occurred from starvation and illness caused by the poor conditions and lack of food. It seems pretty clear that the Indian Army lost its discipline, and that higher officials in New Delhi did not know what was going on and did not want to know. Skirmishing went on until a truce was signed in May 1964.

Since 1959, India has tried to organize a political movement in Nagaland that would be loyal to India. By all accounts, this effort has been a complete failure.

As we can see in other areas—for example, the civil war in Nigeria today—once an ethnic group has been victim of mass killing, it is unlikely to forget for a generation or more; the group will usually generate an intense ethnic nationalism and desire for a separate state in which it can live in relative security. This has certainly happened in Nagaland, so much so that the Nagas will not consider any compromise which would be less than complete independence. The Nagas have contempt for the Indians, and the Indians in turn think that the Nagas are mostly primitive, with support for independence only among a minority of Nagas labeled "hostiles."

Another Bangladesh?

Unless the United States can pressure India to make a settlement acknowledging that Nagaland was never a part of British India, and should therefore be left free, there will probably be another war in Nagaland.

Undeniably, there would be a risk that the Naga example might lead other disaffected parts of India to choose separation, but this risk is probably overrated. The Nagas are indeed a special case, and other areas of India do not seem willing to fight indefinitely end for independence, as the Nagas seem ready to do.

Moreover, if India does not let the Nagas go, she faces a bleak prospect: a long guerrilla war, commitment of a major part of the Indian Army—perhaps 250,000 troops or more—to Nagaland with no certainty of success, weakness to Pakistani or Chinese probes elsewhere on her borders, and the expenditure of a great amount of very scarce resources.

For the United States, an attitude of "see no danger, speak no danger" is hardly ideal.

If Communist Chinese arms are sent to the Nagas, we will probably be asked by India to give counter-insurgency weapons, and perhaps even advisers, to the Indian Army. China might use the Naga conflict as a means to hold down much of the Indian Army while China moved elsewhere in Assam, which also is disaffected. Pakistan might renew war over Kashmir. If either of these escalations of conflict took place, India would call on the United States for an even deeper commitment.

As for the Nagas, they would face great suffering and killing without any assurance that they would finally achieve independence.

Will the United States wait until events are beyond repair? If we are drawn into a conflict in the Indian area sparked by the Naga problem, it will be because we ignored the evidence of events to come and refused to act while there was time.

Since India will call on us if she gets in trouble, we have a legitimate reason for pressing India to make a Naga settlement leading to independence, before India gets committed to a conflict that would be for her, and perhaps for us, another huge "Viet Nam." Surely our large aid and support for India gives us the means to influence Indian policy on a matter that may involve us.

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THIN HOPE—"So we're going to build a thin ballistic missile defense system. Now if we can just get the Russians to use thin ballistic missiles. . . ."—By Jack Wilson in the Los Angeles *Times*

Is He Always Wrong?

Lippmann Proposal Boggles the Imagination

By DUMITRU DANIELOPOL

Viet Nam is just like the weather. Everybody talks about it, but nobody seems to know what to do about it.

There is no easy answer.

Some presidential hopefuls trying to find short cuts to popularity have strayed dangerously close to the leftist-pacifist-beatnik line of surrender.

Former Vice President Richard Nixon has publicly warned against these "gimmick" solutions and has already separated himself from those using them for campaign purposes.

Probably the most extraordinary gimmick, however, comes from an entirely different source—from that long-time critic of the Johnson Viet Nam policy, the erstwhile Washington columnist, Walter Lippmann.

Lippmann wants the United States to pull out althogether not only from Viet Nam, but from all Asia. He would base U.S. defenses in the Pacific on New Zealand and Australia.

The proposal is staggering.

It would leave not only South Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore at the mercy of Communist aggression but would also place in jeopardy South Korea, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Japan, Formosa and the Philippines.

"An American decision to pull back to Australia will not only end the war in Viet Nam but will remove any near prospect of war with China," Lippmann argues.

Pundit Walter Lippmann would have the United States pull out of Asia altogether.

He is perfectly right. Why should China fight a war when she can get what she wants without it? It would take years for Peking to digest the feast Lippmann would set before her. But once she had digested it, once she had Japan's industrial might, the food stores of Southeast Asia, the mineral riches of Indonesia, how long would the United States be safe?

Marines evacuate a wounded comrade during recent fighting in the DMZ. Lippmann seems to forget that the United States has been a Pacific power for generations, making a pullout from Viet Nam highly dangerous to the freedom of that area.

Lippmann's proposals will not be followed, but the fact that he makes them indicates the desperate plight, the shaken confidence, of American liberals. Because the world has not turned out the way they planned it, they are now ready to run home and hide. They want to sweep their mistakes under the rug and abandon hundreds of millions of Asians to the dark age of communism.

But Lippmann holds a special place in the Eastern liberal establishment. His idea of a "white man's" defense of the Pacific Ocean recalls some other Lippmann judgments.

In 1933 he wrote that "Italian fascism has become increasingly realistic and conservative; German fascism is still highly romantic, nervous and confused. There is, therefore, some reason for thinking that the influence of Mussolini upon Herr Hitler is likely to be a moderating one. . . ."

On July 23, 1959, he wrote:

"The wiser course and more practical one is to be patient and relaxed—to remember that Cuba is our nearest neighbor, far beyond the reach of the Soviet Union.

"Remembering this, we can rely ultimately on the high improbability that Cuba will drift or be pushed and pulled into the Soviet orbit."

His errors are not limited to politics.

In the early '30s he looked at New York's rising Rockefeller Center and commented that "The esthetic aimlessness of the enterprise is equaled only by its social irresponsibility."

Rockefeller Center has proved to be one of the most successful real estate ventures in history and a model for urban renewal everywhere.

From the Elgin (Ill.) *Courier-News*

□ □ □

TROUBLE FOR CLARK—Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael Musmanno is stepping up his attacks on the state's ultra-liberal senior senator, Joseph Clark. Musmanno, who is almost certain to enter the Democratic senatorial primary next spring, assailed Clark recently in bitter terms: "Clark is the most vociferous proponent of the suicidal program that we stop shooting in Viet Nam while allowing the Communists to continue to massacre American soldiers, who are fighting for the security of our nation."

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Close Research Gap

Job for McNamara's Successor

By BARRY GOLDWATER

The most urgent task for Robert McNamara's successor as secretary of defense will be to reverse the research gap.

Under the McNamara rule at the Pentagon, and based upon an unshakeable belief that one-sided disarmament is the way to peace, the defenses of this nation purposefully have been held in a state of suspended animation.

Not one major new strategic weapons system has been introduced since the Administration of Dwight Eisenhower, on whose foresight and planning we continue to live so far as defenses are concerned.

The McNamara research policy has been that this nation will not begin any project unless the enemy—potential enemy, to use the polite phrase—has begun a project on its own which makes our response essential.

The slightest exercise of common sense would indicate that this is a guaranteed way to fall behind.

The major affected areas of research have been in nuclear weapons and space weapons. It is reasonable to assume there has been an adverse effect, also, in terms of chemical and bacteriological weapons and defenses, but these topics are even more of a taboo for public discussion than the most guarded nuclear matters.

Thanks to the McNamara "responsive rather than innovative" research policy and to the nuclear test ban treaty —the passage of which was substantially aided by McNamara and the men he assigned to it—this nation has fallen well behind the Soviet Union in researching and harnessing the effects of high-yield, high-altitude nuclear explosions.

Explosions of this sort, as was pointed out repeatedly by Republicans in the 1964 presidential campaign, have the effect of seriously disrupting electronic systems such as those on which we depend to launch and target guided missiles.

McNamara's men, however, have delayed research in the area as long as possible. Only this year was it announced that we are beginning serious efforts to shield our missiles against this danger.

When it comes to space weapons, the story is too apparent to require retelling. While McNamara and his men have steadily resisted and scuttled needed research in this area, the Soviet military has gone ahead so strenuously and successfully that they have now announced the capability of putting weapons of mass destruction into orbit.

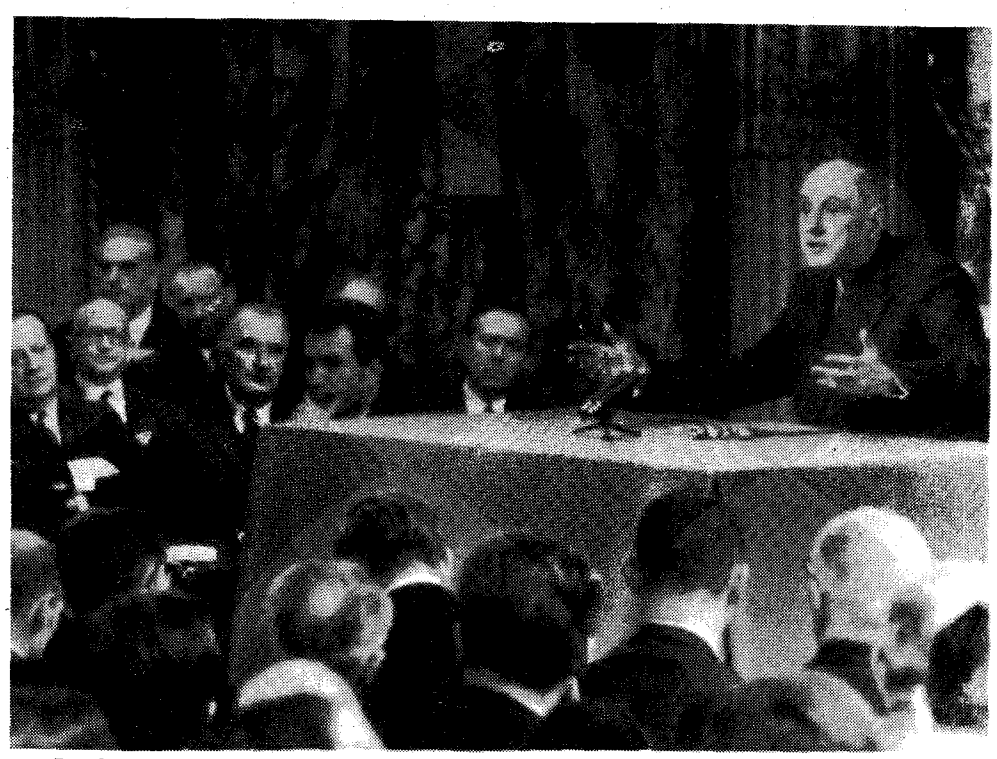
All that McNamara's men have been able to produce in the way of response is to say, pitifully, that so long as those weapons do not make a full orbit of the earth they would not technically violate the space-weapons ban which McNamara has been instrumental in pushing.

It has been apparent for years that the failure to keep our defenses in shape was the most potentially fatal failure of this Administration. To be sure, the same Administration has brought us closer to federal bankruptcy than any other in memory, but, bad as that is, it would be far more feasible to ride out economic disaster than to survive the sort of horrible pressures that communism could bring to bear on us should its leaders find themselves in possession of a clear-cut advantage in the field of weapons.

It is for that reason that every American should regard the successor to Robert McNamara closely and with the deepest possible concern.

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles *Times*)

Among those suggested to replace McNamara are, from top left to bottom right: LBJ's troubleshooter Cyrus Vance, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Nitze, Texas Gov. John Connally and former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Maxwell Taylor.



De Gaulle holds his celebrated news conference November 27, during which he again blocked Britain's entry into the Common Market. France has all but declared economic war on the United States, her supposed ally.

Why Let Debtor De Gaulle Take Gold from the U. S.?

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

It is utterly preposterous for Washington to permit President Charles de Gaulle to kill off America's dwindling gold supply and not collect France's due debts.

There he sits treating America all the while like a bulldog treats a tramp. He's not only operating a de facto Paris-Moscow-Peking axis but is left free to conduct his declared war on our dollar at the cataclysmic risk of the United States and the entire free world.

American policy should not treat de Gaulle in the same way as it treats Western European allies who are doing what he's doing. De Gaulle is not America's ally. He is America's declared enemy and actually seems to glory in this renegade role.

There has been a great deal of doubletalk about France's debts to us, including the false question as to whether France "really owes us the money."

France owes us the money, all right. Here are the particulars. I have verified each figure with the Federal Reserve Bank of New York:

The basic French debt, so old that it goes back to the days of World War I and all of which remains due and payable to this very day, was $4.68 billion. It was actually much higher, but—surprise, surprise—the French negotiated it down.

The Federal Reserve confirms to me that 16 other nations also owe some $21 billion in World War I debts. This has nothing to do with our $128 billion in foreign aid—all free. It refers only to truly due obligations incurred by debtor nations subject to collection.

Only three nations have returned the money to our taxpayers—Nicaragua, Liberia and pre-Castro Cuba. Of the remaining 17 debtors, only Finland has continuously met her obligation. Finland remained current by her latest check for $353,352 for her annual principal retirement and interest.

Britain owes us about $6.8 billion in this category; Italy about $2 billion; Belgium, Greece and Austria another billion each.

In addition to this $21 billion, about the same number of countries also owe us roughly $19 billion for World War II and postwar debts. This is exclusive of their enormous obligations, likewise unpaid, for our uncollected interest.

The aggregate now due actually totals more than $40 billion, while we scrape the bottom of our impoverished gold barrel and President Johnson urges higher taxes on the American people.

The sum France owes us includes $1.97 billion as principal and $2.7 billion unpaid interest. Then there's $1.89 billion more in unmatured principal. In total, de Gaulle owes the American taxpayers a tidy $6.57 billion, which is nearly exactly the amount ($6.18 billion) of his entire gold reserve.

In 1931 France said she couldn't pay that year's installment. Washington declared a one-year moratorium. That was the end of that. Our taxpayers have made up the difference over since. The de Gaulle government has the gall to no longer even carry these billions on official statements listing France's external debt.

In addition, France has outstanding three separate loans arising from World War II. These total about $400 million.

Now, as readers of this column may recall, I have been after this matter with the Treasury Department for a solid three years asking why we don't clamp down on de Gaulle. The only answer I've been able to get is this incredible official reply from the Treasury to me:

"The United States does regard defaulted World War I debts as valid obligations, and it is true that France owes $6 billion plus to us from her World War I debt and $400 million piled up since 1940. But we know of no prospect that the United States will force payment by defaulting on its obligations to foreign countries."

Default! Force payment! Nonsense. Why don't we do exactly what de Gaulle would do if the shoe were on the other foot?

If a man owed you $1,000 for 27 years and now you finally owed him $100, wouldn't you say: "Charlie, that's fine. I'll just credit the $100 against the $1,000 you owe me."

You would. Anybody would. And de Gaulle, of course, would. Our government should have used this debt ammunition long ago. And the least Washington can do is to use it at once.

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LBJ Hopes to Avoid '68 Issue

Powell Ouster Compromise Sought by Humphrey

By PAUL SCOTT

President Johnson is taking an unexpected interest in the long-simmering Adam Clayton Powell congressional ouster case.

Disturbed by the political risk of continuing to let America's largest Negro ghetto go without a voice in Congress, the President has given Vice President Humphrey the assignment of determining whether a compromise solution is possible.

In his initial contact with House Democratic leaders, Humphrey revealed the President's growing concern that the question of Harlem's vacant congressional seat may become an issue at the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

The Democratic legislators were warned that this explosive possibility is indicated by the backstage maneuvers of supporters of Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.), whose challenge for the Democratic presidential nomination is being built around an anti-Viet Nam war and militant civil rights platform.

According to White House information, McCarthy's key backers have been in contact with Powell's supporters, including Dr. Martin Luther King, to discuss ways the "Powell issue" can be developed for major political use to attract Negro voters.

One proposal advanced by King is for McCarthy to be the main speaker at a massive rally to be held in Washington next spring to push for Powell's seating.

Tentative plans call for militant Negroes and anti-Viet Nam war advocates to converge on Washington in March, April and May for a series of carefully linked rallies to denounce Congress and support the return of America's best-known Negro politician.

Although now temporarily dormant, the Harlem Democrat's expulsion case is actually ticking away like a time bomb on the Capitol's doorstep.

It could explode later this month when the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals here in Washington hands down its ruling on Powell's petition that the House ouster action be declared unconstitutional and that body ordered to seat him as Harlem's representative.

The case was appealed to the three-judge Circuit Court after U.S. District Judge George Hart Jr. dismissed Powell's petition on the grounds that the court lacked jurisdiction.

The Democratic House leaders in their discussion with Vice President Humphrey informed him that regardless of the court's decision the present House membership would not accept Powell back on any terms. They stressed there could be no compromise.

Since Powell's March 1 ouster, the lawmakers pointed out, opposition in the House to his return has increased rather than decreased. This rise, they stressed, was due to Powell's own failure to appear and be sworn in following his re-election in a special election.

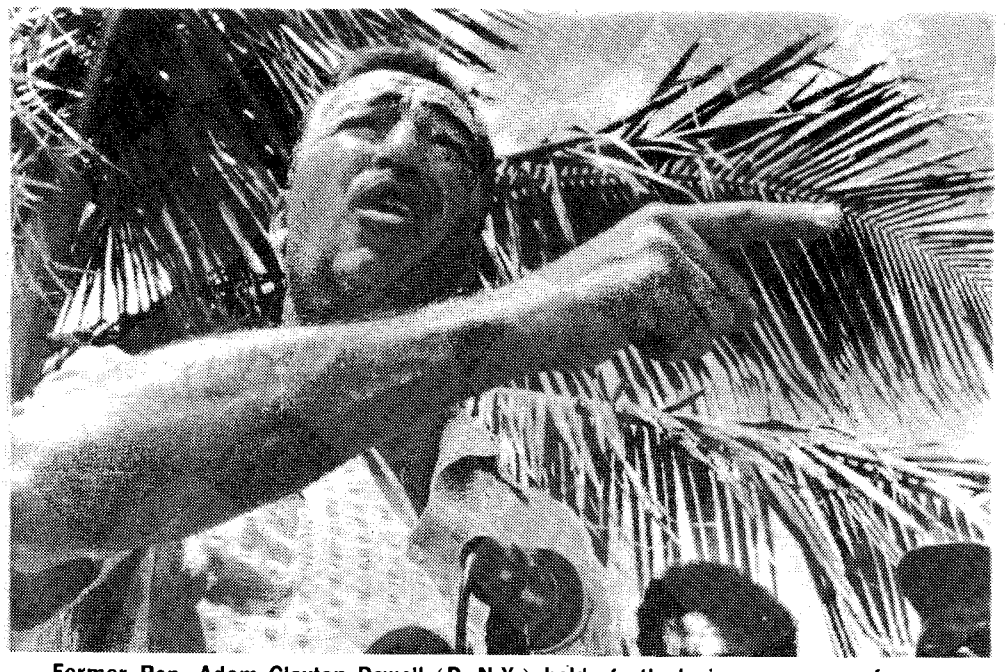
Powell's only visit to Washington from his Bimini Island retreat since his expulsion was to appear before a federal grand jury investigating congressional charges he had misused public funds.

On advice of his attorneys, Powell during that trip neither appeared in the House to be sworn in nor visited Harlem, where he hasn't set foot in more than a year.

One of Powell's attorneys, Henry Williams, is privately saying that his client's next move will come after the U.S. Circuit Court hands down its decision.

If the ruling is favorable, Williams indicates an immediate move will be made asking the court to order troops to seat Powell at the end of the present session of Congress.

A ruling upholding Judge Hart's lower court decision against Powell will be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court as part of a plan to use the case to seek a constitutional confrontation between the court and Congress.



Former Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D.-N.Y.) holds forth during a news conference at Bimini, where the ex-lawmaker has been spending his time since his ouster from Congress.

"It is not an easy question for the court to decide," Williams told a recent caller. "You either say you've got the power to make the House of Representatives behave and you get some troops to send over there, or you don't have the power."

Visitors to Bimini who have conferred recently with Powell say the Harlem Democrat believes his expulsion case will become the number one civil rights issue in 1968.

"As soon as the circuit court rules, the 'Powell Case' will be back on the front page of every newspaper in the country," Powell is quoted as saying. "And it is going to stay there. My fight is going to become the major civil rights battle in the nation. It will be fought in the halls of Congress, at the Democratic National Convention, and in the streets if necessary."

Note: Justice Department officials say their grand jury probe of Powell's handling of congressional funds while he was chairman of the House Labor and Education Committee will run for several more weeks.

★ ★ ★

Black communities across the United States are beginning to forge their first organized communication links with each other.

Starting with NEGRO (New England Grass Roots Organization) in Boston, newly organized private information agencies are being set up in all the major cities to serve the ghetto areas.

"When a full chain of these agencies is established throughout the U.S.," says Guido St. Laurent, executive director of NEGRO and innovator of the idea, "we will be able to get a barometric reading of the black community's feeling on a national as well as local basis."

In addition to distributing information about Negro organizations and their plans and taking polls, the nationwide communication network is designed to be able, within a few hours, to bring together 3,000 or 4,000 black militants in any given area of the country.

Another way the system will operate is that its key officials will arrange immediate contacts for the press, radio-TV with militant black leaders in the ghetto areas—contacts which otherwise might take days to develop.

★ ★ ★

Sen. John McClellan's Permanent Investigating subcommittee, probing last summer's racial riots, is looking into a $200,000 grant the Ford Foundation made to Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference. According to a preliminary staff investigation, the money is going to the SCLC to train local clergymen to lead demonstrations against Congress next year.

The Senate probers are also checking a $20,000 grant made by a national magazine to a Midwest student publication. The latter recently urged students to pay tribute to the late Communist guerrilla leader, Che Guevara, by starting a revolution in the U.S.

Vice President Humphrey is circulating a confidential Secret Service memorandum showing the backgrounds of six pickets that tried to disrupt a recent New York speech of his. It points out that all the pickets had attended the Communist party's last national convention.

The National Conference of New Politics is launching a direct action campaign to assure the reseating of Powell in the House "with full seniority." It will involve demonstrations in Washington.

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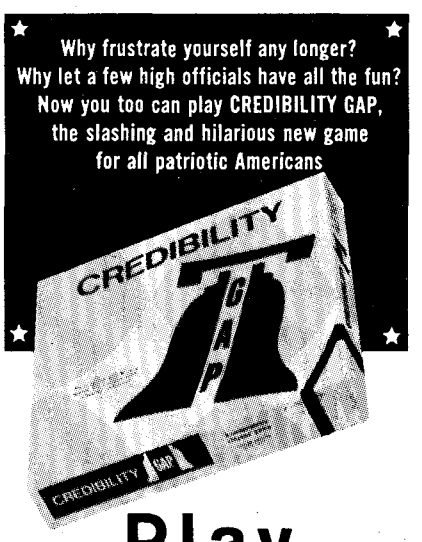
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Crime and the Bill of Rights: A Practical Approach

Does the Constitution really prevent the protection of innocent people?

The courts often say yes. The author says no, and shows why.

By PARK CHAMBERLAIN

"Whereas, it frequently happens that wicked and dissolute men, resigning themselves to the dominion of inordinate passions, commit violations on the lives, liberties and property of others, and, the secure enjoyment of these having principally induced men to enter into society, government would be defective in its principal purpose were it not to restrain such criminal acts."—Thomas Jefferson: Preamble to the "Bill for Proportioning Crimes and Punishments," Legislature of Virginia, 1778

If Jefferson was correct, with each passing year the various governments of and within the United States have grown more defective in their principal purpose.

According to the report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the year 1966, violations "on the lives" of American citizens (murder, manslaughter, etc.) increased from 9,000 in 1960 to 10,920 in 1966; violations of the individual's right to personal security (forcible rape and aggravated assault) increased from 169,860 in 1960 to 385,220 in 1965, while violations of his right to his property (robbery, burglary, car theft, etc.) increased from 1,823,130 in 1960 to 2,975,320 in 1966. And it is estimated that when full returns are in for 1967, the above figures will again show a substantial increase not only absolutely but relative to the much more modest growth of population.

In short then, not only do the headlines proclaim but statistics confirm that the basic rights of every one of us today are less secure than ever before.

Although the reasons for this deplorable situation are manifold, I shall consider here only one of them, namely, the decisions of the Supreme Court which have reduced police effectiveness in the name of the Bill of Rights. That these decisions have had some such ill effect is generally agreed, although argument rages as to whether, as the backers of the court claim, such effect is merely a modest price to be paid for the privilege of living in a free society, or whether, as the court's critics urge, the price is not modest at all but is already so inflated that it is calling for the payment of the very freedom we are attempting to secure.

Fundamentally, the controversy is simple, and involves these two points only: First, what weapons may our servants, the police, use in our defense, and in what circumstances may they use them; and second, what should be the consequences of their use of a forbidden weapon or misuse of a permitted one?

To find the answers to these questions, I contend that we need look only to the basic premises of our political philosophy, these being

- That every human being is endowed with inalienable rights to his life, liberty and property; and
- That the prime purpose of government is the preservation of these rights.

From these principles we draw these conclusions:

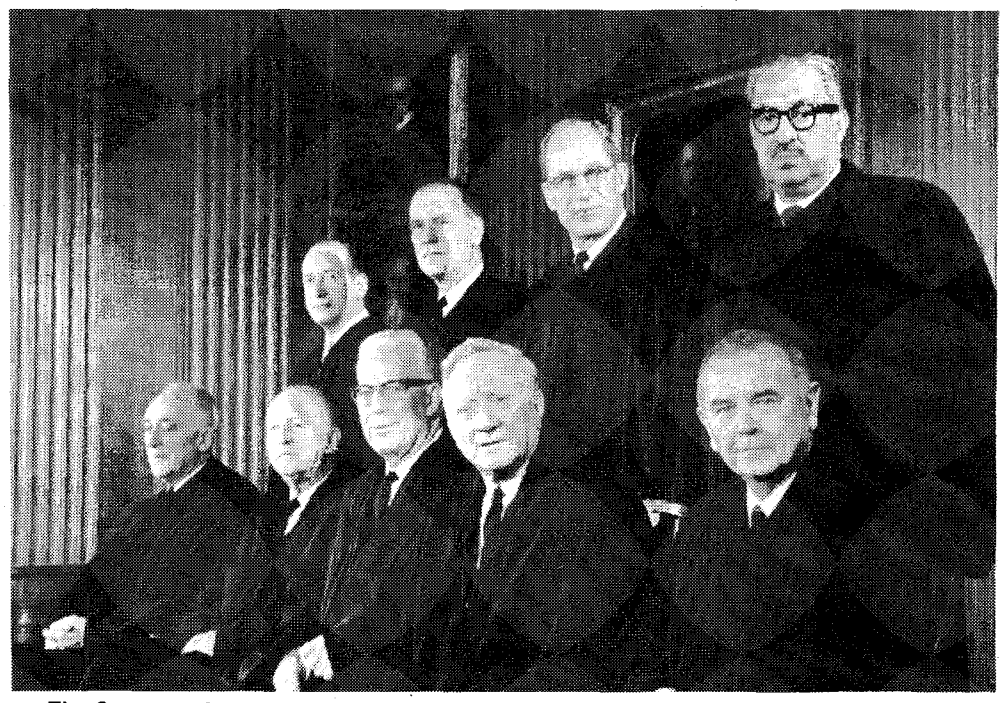
(a) *That every citizen has the right to have his inalienable rights protected by the police* (the human agents of government especially entrusted with this task) which includes

(b) *The right to have the police use in his defense every weapon morally and practically adapted to that end,* and

(c) *The right never to have his inalienable rights lost or weakened because of an illegal action of these official defenders.*

Now in fact it is with respect only to (b) and (c) that controversy has arisen, the truth of (a) being recognized by the American Civil Liverties Union itself when in certain Southern states it has secured court orders directing the local police to do their duty in preventing the beating of Negroes by rioting racists.

However, (b) and (c) are definitely not acceptable to the Supreme Court, which insists that the Bill of Rights not only limits our rights to the most practical use of the most practical weapons, but also decrees that the consequences of wrongful use shall be that all evidence so secured, and all later evidence derived therefrom even though legally secured, shall be vitiated for use against the wronged person—whether or not the wronged person is a monster who will use his freedom for the further violations of our inalienable rights, and whether or not the rule in itself will make the future defense of our rights the more difficult and their violation to that extent the more easy.



The Supreme Court has long been accused of stretching the Constitution so far as to make proper law enforcement almost impossible. From left to right, seated, are: Justices Harlan, Black, Chief Justice Warren, Douglas and Brennan. Standing are: Justices Fortas, Stewart, White and Marshall.

Are these limitations really contained in the Bill of Rights? When we examine it, we are surprised at the skimpiness of the provisions that are the source of literally thousands of finely spun decisions.

There are in fact only the 4th Amendment, which prohibits general warrants and cautiously stipulates with respect to searches and seizures only that they shall not be "unreasonable," and the vague provisions of the 5th Amendment with respect to "due process" and self-incrimination which were probably never meant to apply to ordinary police work at all. And there is nothing whatsoever regarding the result of violation of these provisions by a government officer.

Government's Purpose

Such being the fact, we must conclude that the Founding Fathers viewed the day-to-day defense of their lives and liberties as a practical matter, as practical as the building of a road or the operation of a post office. They had no desire that the Bill of Rights should prevent their government from accomplishing its principal purpose: protecting them and their wives and children against the "wicked and dissolute men" of the day.

And, as to the future, they knew that they could foresee neither the weapons that might be available to such men nor the counter weapons that might be necessary to defend against them. Hence they wisely avoided detail, and left to our discretion the mode of defense of our rights.

I therefore urge that we exercise this discretion in the same practical manner, namely, by insisting upon the truth of our conclusions as already stated, and by adding (1) this definition of a weapon that is both moral and practical: *that it accomplish its end of defending Good A against Bad B without unduly discommoding innocent bystanders C, D and X; and* (2) this corollary to (c) above: *that the penalty for use of a forbidden weapon or the wrongful use of a permitted weapon should be visited only upon him who is guilty of such wrongdoing.*

Wiretapping Useful

To verify (1), let us forthwith examine the use of the ultra-controversial electronic eavesdropping devices—for if these may be used in proper circumstances, no discussion of less objectionable weapons will be necessary.

Suppose, for example, that Michael Schwerner (one of the three civil rights workers murdered in Mississippi in 1964) had gone to the FBI and said:

"I have evidence that my life is being plotted against by so and so. I therefore demand that you present my evidence to a magistrate and secure authority from him to tap the telephone wires and bug the homes of these people so that you may learn their plans and thereby protect my inalienable rights."

Here, as any reader can see, Schwerner would be treading on dangerous ground. Had a zealous civil libertarian been present, he must have quoted from that leader of the American Civil Liberties Union, Mr. Patrick Murphy Malin, who in fact once said:

> "I am, in considered choice among values and among risks, on balance strongly opposed to all wiretapping—by anyone, at any time, for any purpose. . . . I want prosecution for everyone who engages in it, or orders it, or allows it."

Thus civil libertarian; however, in making *his* choice among values, Schwerner would feel that his right to his life was of higher value than the plotters' right to clear telephone wires or unbugged homes. Or, to generalize, that be an individual the humblest Negro in the clutches of the Ku Klux Klan or a rich man's son held for ransom by kidnapers, his inalienable rights should include the right to electronic eavesdropping in their defense.

The civil libertarian as fervent as Mr. Malin, on the other hand, would insist that the balance was so far the other way that nothing and nobody have rights vital enough to be protected in this manner, while a moderate civil libertarian might take the position of Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark who agrees that while no individual human being has rights important enough to be protected in this manner, the nation, as such, does.

Because of the consideration by Congress of various kinds of legislation respecting the use of electronic eavesdropping—some to ban it altogether, some to limit it to cases of national security, and some to expand it to the protection of individuals in certain cases, it will be profitable to examine the basic argument advanced against this admittedly efficient weapon: namely, that its use would violate a right of privacy which is guaranteed by the 4th Amendment.

Now, in the case of Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman, what would this mean to their assailants? Why, of course, that they would have what they most desperately needed, namely, privacy to perfect their plans, privacy to get into position, privacy to kidnap and then to murder the workers and lastly, privacy to conceal the bodies.

In short, they would have what every violator of human rights needs first, last and always, namely, privacy; whence it follows that the first, last and ever-demanding duty of the police is the opening up of criminal privacy, an end to which electronic eavesdropping is most admirably adapted.

That such privacy should be regarded as protected by the Bill of Rights is as horrifying as that the exposure of it should be considered immoral, for surely anyone who is plotting or committing a violation of human rights has forfeited any right to privacy he might conceivably claim.

But—it may be answered—admitting that such a forfeiture has been made, and admitting that electronic devices can be practically useful in preserving the rights of some innocent persons, might not this good be outweighed by possible evil—for example, the inconvenience that could be suffered by other innocent persons?

Critics Rebutted

This objection is made so often that it will be profitable to examine here all possible inconveniences that might be occasioned to the latter and to weigh them carefully against the rights to life and liberty that might simultaneously be preserved.

Let us therefore return to the case of the murdered civil rights workers. Even assuming, say the objectors, that wiretapping might have enabled the FBI to thwart the entire plot and thus save the lives of Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman, it must be admitted that in addition to the exposure of the forfeited privacy of the would-be murderers, the non-forfeited privacy of other persons must have been violated—that is, the innocent privacy of friends of the plotters calling upon innocent matters of business or social affairs. Why, after all, should the FBI know if Mr. Goodguy Jones hopes to play golf on Sunday with Joe Plotter? Or that Mrs. Plotter dislikes the way Mrs. Jones' children behave?

Well, it is true that many an innocent communication would come to the ears of the FBI, but can it be seriously urged that the right to privacy of such communications outweighs the rights of the intended victims of a murder plot to their lives and liberties?

Mr. Chamberlain is an attorney practicing in Los Altos, Calif. Between 1958 and 1963 he was a radio commentator specializing in the field of civil liberties and politics. An earlier article of his, "Miranda vs. Arizona," appeared in Human Events, *Nov. 19, 1966.*

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But, it is argued, there might be discovery of matters that are merely reprehensible, such as some forms of sexual misconduct, or indeed of perfectly proper matters such as business plans which the suspect may rightfully desire to keep secret. In such cases, the monitors might betray the suspect to his wife or his business competitors, or might even resort to blackmail.

Granting that this is not impossible, there are the following responses: first, that the rights of a potential murder victim outweigh rights to sexual laxity or even business privacy; and second, that any right to such privacy would be violated only if the monitors should choose to run the risk of dishonorable discharge or even criminal prosecution in order to grieve Joe Plotter's wife or assist his business competitors.

Furthermore, and specifically with respect to blackmail, it should be noted not only that this objection is really a point in favor of eavesdropping inasmuch as it assumes that it will in fact uncover serious criminal or other misconduct, but also that the objection must apply to *every* weapon we may supply to the police for the defense of our inalienable rights.

In short, this argument assumes that the more efficiently a particular weapon may expose crimes intended or crimes committed, the more ammunition it makes available for blackmail or other abuse; wherefore, it leads inexorably to the conclusion that the only way we can prevent such ammunition from falling into the hands of our defenders is by allowing them only the most inefficient weapons!

Blackmail Fears

Thus the argument reduces itself to an absurdity. But if any further defense to it is needed, it should suffice to say that (a) given honest monitors, (b) adequate judicial supervision of the use of all information so gained, and (c) prompt and sharp punishment for abuses, especially blackmail, the likelihood of any such breaches of duty should be virtually nil.

Very well, reply the objectors, we admit that we cannot disapprove very much of eavesdropping that actually brings to light threats to our rights even if they were not the threats the eavesdroppers meant to uncover; nor do we feel too much sympathy for those whose criminality is exposed even if they should be blackmailed; however, what if the eavesdroppers should hear a *privileged* communication, as, for example, Joe Plotter telephoning his clergyman and confessing to him that he has committed such and such a crime? The answer is simple: the confession remains privileged, and can no more be introduced in evidence by the monitor than by the clergyman himself.

But, finally say the objectors, what if the evidence supporting an application for a warrant turns out to be completely false and the person whose wires are tapped completely innocent of any wrongdoing?

Well, if such be the case, what harm can have been done? At most, the monitor will have been bored by having to listen to the idle prattle of harmless human beings. The magistrate who received the results of the wiretapping may simply order it destroyed, and that would be that. And as to the "victims" of such an error, they may never learn of it at all!

Surely this is a far better result than that which might stem from other police error, such as being accidently shot or clubbed or run down by a prowl car—for it is a fact that every weapon we buy for our defenders carries its threat to harmless third parties.

For instance, if the Southern police in compliance with court orders were to wade in with fist, club and gun to protect the Negroes on their streets, innocent bystanders might be hurt there too—but in securing such orders, the American Civil Liberties Union disregarded this possibility. And quite properly so, in my opinion, although the ACLU's lack of caution there contrasts strangely with its emphasis, in the case of electronic eavesdropping, on the possibility of error, a possibility which in fact is negligible because of the deliberation that must precede an application for a warrant to wiretap and the careful consideration that the issuing magistrate is bound to give to such an application.

One final comment upon the effect of such eavesdropping on innocent persons: Let it be always remembered that every investigatory weapon has two functions, namely, to *convict* and to *clear*, and that the more efficient the weapons we supply our defenders, the more surely will the latter concentrate their attention upon the guilty; hence if electronic instruments should be as effective as their opponents constantly assume they will be, the safer innocent persons will be not only against criminals but from being taken for criminals.

So much, then, for electronic eavesdropping; properly supervised, it easily falls within the terms which I earlier urged to be definitive of a weapon which is both moral and practical; and, as there is nothing in the Bill of Rights which condemns it, we must conclude that no honest man should be stripped of his rights to its use in his defense.

Let us now turn our attention to the non-material weapon known as *interrogation*, the use of which has been so sharply restricted by the recent case of *Miranda vs. Arizona*.

Generally speaking, interrogation, whether conducted under oath in court or elsewhere in formal circumstances or informally by the police in their day-to-day defense of our rights, is patently a weapon so vital to the defense of Good A against Bad B that those who would restrict it bear a very heavy burden indeed.

True, they may bear the burden where they can show that this weapon can sometimes be extremely dangerous to bystanders C, D and X—that is, when used in such manner that it wrenches a false confession from an innocent person. But against this possibility adequate rules have existed for many years; and the case of *Miranda* explicitly is not concerned with whether confessions are true or false or whether suspects are physically mistreated; it is concerned only with a newly found connection between the use of the weapon of interrogation and the anti-self-incrimination clause of the 5th Amendment.

Letting Criminals Free

To illustrate this connection, let us consider the effect of *Miranda* upon the case put previously of police protection for Negroes on Southern streets. Let us suppose that after the police have rescued the Negroes and arrested some of the attackers, the Negroes request the police to question those in custody hard and fast so as to learn the names of their co-conspirators and to recover, if possible, their stolen property.

But here the police can only say: "We're sorry, but you no longer have that right. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Miranda vs. Arizona*, has forbidden us to ask questions of persons in custody without first telling them that they need say nothing and that they may first consult a lawyer, lest they incriminate themselves."

"What!" cry the Negroes. "You mean that we have the right to have you pursue these thugs through the street in your automobiles, to beat them with your fists and clubs and to fire your revolvers at them, all for the purpose of protecting our lives and liberties, and yet we cannot call upon you to question them to the same end?"

Such is indeed the perplexing paradox of *Miranda*. But why? Surely there is nothing immoral in asking questions of the subdued attackers, surely there is no danger to third parties and, equally surely, there can be no more practical way of securing the information necessary to the restoration of the Negroes' rights than by hard questions put while the thugs are still so shaken by their defeat and arrest that they are far more likely to divulge information beneficial to their victims than at some later time when defense counsel has advised them to remain silent.

How then does the Supreme Court justify this diminishment of our rights to the use of such interrogation?

Its claim that the anti-self-incrimination clause of the 5th Amendment compelled

The wave of increased lawlessness in the country has made the task of the policeman doubly difficult. Above, police break up a sit-in in front of the White House during a demonstration.

the *Miranda* result is laughable, inasmuch as for some 175 years it did not occur to the American judiciary that this clause applied to ordinary police work. But setting historical justification aside, what can be said in defense of this novel rule?

Use 'Danger Period'

Through the hundreds of thousands of words that have been written in defense of *Miranda* we find running this theme: That the time between the arrest of a suspect and his arraignment is a "danger period," and that "fair play" to him, therefore, requires that he be especially protected during this period.

Well, rarely has a sound premise been followed by a more false conclusion. Of course it is a danger period; as I showed in my example of Negroes being beaten by racists, surely the most perilous period for the racists is that interlude when they are so defeated and discouraged that they are most likely to tell the truth that will go farthest to preserve the rights of the beaten Negroes.

Similarly in any case of conspiracy, nothing can be more perilous to the suspects than that they be rapidly separated and questioned apart before they can harmonize their stories, concoct alibis, or terrorize witnesses. In an earlier article of mine in *Human Events* (Nov. 19, 1966), I used the legend of Susanna and the Elders to illustrate the way aggressive and separate interrogation of conspirators elicited the truth that preserved the right of Susanna to her life and honor.

Likewise, in the case of Emmett Till, a Negro boy of 14 who was kidnaped from amidst a group of his relatives by white men well known to them, the danger period to his kidnapers (and murderers) was surely the moment of their return and arrest, when stern questioning might well have elicited the facts most helpful to their victim, had he been alive.

In short, if you are attacked, conspired against or kidnaped, your basic rights will be best preserved if your defenders take full advantage of this "danger period"; wherefore, the "danger period" and "fair play" theses actually condemn rather than justify *Miranda*.

They are significant, however, in revealing a sinister presupposition that appears to underly not only Miranda **but other like judicial decisions, namely, that the purpose of the Bill of Rights is to protect guilt.**

The tacit logic is this: If, for example, the 4th Amendment is meant to protect privacy, then naturally it must be interpreted so as to protect him most who needs it most, namely, the plotter or committer of crime. Likewise, if the anti-self-incrimination clause is meant to protect against self-incrimination, surely it should be most zealously enforced in favor of him who would be most helped by silence and most hurt by talk, namely, the person who has in fact committed violations upon the lives, liberties, or property of others.

This logical conclusion is fully supported by the practical effect of *Miranda:* The guilty are helped most or almost exclusively. It is nearly unknown for an innocent arrestee to prefer the silence that means being mugged, fingerprinted, jailed or compelled to put up bail; on the contrary, he wants first and foremost the right to talk himself into prompt release.

Nor is this the end of the results of this presupposition. Seizing upon it, defense lawyers are fairly reasoning that if it is reprehensible for a uniformed policeman at a station house to "compel" or induce a suspect to incriminate himself, how much worse is it for a sneaky policeman disguised, for example, as a beatnik, to inveigle Joe Mafia into incriminating himself by telling him all about his dope-pushing business; or for a policewoman disguised as a B girl from cheating Tom Stickup into incriminating himself by boasting about where he hid the money from the bank job.

Cases pressing these points have only recently come before the Supreme Court; though decided against the civil libertarian line, there have been dissents which may someday become majority rulings which will toll the knell of the protection of our rights by plainclothes detective work.

That the right of the guilty to protection is the conscious or unconscious presupposition of such "civil liberties" cases will become even more obvious as we now turn to a consideration of my proposition that the penalty for use of a forbidden weapon or the wrongful use of a permitted weapon should be visited only upon him who is guilty of such wrongdoing.

Controlling Bugging

This is not the case at present; for example, let us suppose that after the murder of the civil rights workers, an overzealous FBI man, by illegally bugging the homes of the murderers, overheard remarks that led in turn to the bodies, the murder weapons and the uncoerced confessions of the guilty. Under prevailing interpretations of the Bill of Rights, not only the original clues revealed by the bugging but everything thereafter discovered or secured as a result of such clues becomes inadmissible in evidence, so that the guilty must be freed—meaning that the penalty for the FBI man's wrongdoing will be visited not on himself at all, but upon all future victims of the lucky racist!

Thus by means of the "tainted fruit" doctrine do the sins of the police weaken the rights of the innocent citizen.

But the eventual results to him can be even worse: Not only can he lose his rights to see dangerous malefactors confined in prison where they no longer menace him, but he may lose other rights as well, as we see by turning to some of the side effects of this doctrine.

The worst of these are: First, the effect upon the rights of the innocent accused who needs the illegally secured evidence; second, the effect upon your rights to civil damages where the police have committed

(Continued on next page)

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The scene: Houston, Tex.

YAF Pickets IBM

N.Y. and Texas members protest Red sales

Young Americans for Freedom is waging a nationwide campaign against the International Business Machines Corp. (IBM), the country's ninth-largest corporation, because the company has been soliciting business among Communist bloc nations.

YAF charges that the advanced line of sophisticated computers, including the 360 and 1400 Series, that IBM is selling to such nations as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria can be used for defense purposes (the United States uses the 360 in the Polaris missile) and for generally advancing Communist technology; moreover, says YAF, these nations are engaged in providing moral and material support to North Viet Nam and the Viet Cong.

IBM's trade with Eastern European nations first came to light last January in the New York *Times*. IBM, the report read, "is waging an active campaign to sell sophisticated computers to the Communist countries of Eastern Europe." The computers involved were IBM's latest line, with the *Times* quoting a Czech official telling IBM "when we buy from you we want the best you have." IBM has confirmed the *Times'* assertions.

As the corporation continued to solicit Communist clients, YAF organized its counter-campaign. Using tactics similar to those successful in 1965 in blocking a proposed $50-million sale of Firestone rubber products to Rumania, YAF instituted letter-writing projects and picketing of IBM offices.

The picketing began in California this summer and spread to Texas and New York this fall. On November 14 New York YAF pickets descended on IBM headquarters on Madison Avenue in midtown Manhattan. On November 17 YAF pickets marched in front of IBM offices in 10 Texas cities, distributing informational literature on IBM's trade with Viet Cong allies and statements from five Texas congressmen opposed to the trade deal.

In retaliation against the YAF pickets, Texas IBM officials distributed to the press a letter written by Secretary of State Dean Rusk to Arthur K. Watson, vice chairman of the board of IBM. "To yield to such groups" as YAF, said Rusk, "is to encourage capricious interference with the vital processes of our constitutional government . . ."; Rusk also claimed the trade was in non-strategic goods.

In response, YAF is asking concerned citizens to write IBM President Arthur Watson themselves, expressing their opposition to IBM's furnishing Communist nations with computers which can be used for war-making purposes. Both the letter-writing and the picketing will continue, YAF has pledged, until IBM halts its Red trade.

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Bill of Rights Doesn't Bar Aid to Crime Victims

some fault with respect to their treatment of the violator of your rights, and lastly, the vast power for helping the guilty that these rules have placed, perhaps unwittingly, in the hands of the police.

With respect to the first point, suppose that you, though innocent, are on trial and to clear yourself need the evidence secured in some other case by illegal action of the police against B. Has such action cost you the right to the use of this evidence? Even though it cannot be used against B in criminal proceedings, he might show that his reputation would be ruined simply by its exposure in court.

I have written elsewhere that some appellate courts have already allowed a witness called by the defense to invoke his privilege against self-incrimination, even though the possibly innocent defendant went to jail in consequence. By analogy, a judge might rule that it is better for innocent you to be convicted rather than that evidence which has been illegally secured by someone else for some other purpose should be used on your behalf.

The second point is best illustrated by the recent case in New York where a woman beat to death her four-year-old son, then called police. When they came she confessed to them before they warned her of her rights under *Miranda* with the result that the murder charges against her were dismissed on the grounds that all the evidence had been vitiated by this neglect on the part of the police.

Now, unfortunate as was the ruling in that case, it could be of even worse effect in related circumstances. Let us suppose that the child had recovered and that the welfare department had brought legal proceedings to take him away from the mother—proceedings sometimes described as "quasi-criminal." Would the court refuse to hear any evidence of the beating on the ground that such evidence, being once vitiated, was forever vitiated? Or suppose the child were beaten not by the mother but by a baby sitter: Would the neglect of the police deprive the child of the right to place evidence of the beating before the court in a civil suit against the baby sitter for damages?

These questions have not yet been answered by the Supreme Court, but if they are answered consistently, what a monstrous barrier the Bill of Rights will have become not only against adequate protection for your rights to your life and liberty, but even against your rights to the recovery of your property or for money damages!

The last point—the new power in the hands of the police—has received little if any attention. In fact, however, the "tainted fruit" doctrine has placed in the hands of the police a virtual power of pardon for suspects for whom they may feel sympathy.

Consider this with relation to the police of the Deep South, who are accused in many instances of being sympathetic to the racist philosophy. Suppose that a rural lawman—a sheriff or merely his part-time deputy—believes that his old friend Farmer Snopes has gone funnin' and sliced apart a Negro or murdered a civil rights worker. To save Snopes, all the law officer need do is to question him without reminding him of his rights under *Miranda* or detain him too long before taking him before a magistrate, or perhaps give him a few light bumps and bruises; all for the purpose of eliciting clues to the proof of Snopes' guilt—proof which will thereafter by the Bill of Rights be rendered forever inadmissible in any criminal court!

One more observation: There are those who make the "tainted fruit" doctrine applicable to the law enforcement activities of every private citizen. This would mean that every such citizen would hold a virtual pardon in his pocket for anyone whom he suspected of a crime and wished to help out by making incriminating evidence inadmissible in court. Surely this would be the final blow to our right to be protected against wicked and dissolute men!

Now, to recapitulate and conclude: In this essay I have endeavored to follow the advice of the wise professor of logic who insisted that every argument should be presented so carefully that its opponents might easily see its errors. To that end I have avoided legalistic complexities in favor of the simple principle that each of us is endowed with inalienable rights which it is the prime duty of government to defend and the deduction therefrom, that each of us may therefore demand that our rights be defended by all effective weapons that will not unduly discommode other people.

My errors, if any, may lie in these principles, but if they be acceptable, I contend that from them must follow my conclusion: that judicial decisions which interpose the Bill of Rights between us and our defense by such weapons, and which punish innocent individuals because of someone else's misuse of such weapons, are not only erroneous but so destructive of the security of our inalienable rights that it is time for every liberty loving citizen to cry halt!

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

No Santa Claus

By REP. HAROLD COLLIER (R.-Ill.)

Many of us, if not most of us, believed for a brief period during our early years in a character called Santa Claus. Then one day one of our more sophisticated schoolmates informed us that "There ain't no Santa Claus," and that our fathers and mothers, uncles and aunts, and other possessors of the necessary wherewithal were the ones who bought the presents that were bestowed upon us at Christmas time.

Today, even though the season of peace on earth, good will toward men approaches, we are concerned with much more than Christmas shopping.

Our present preoccupation is with the huge budget deficit for fiscal 1968, which the President has said may reach a figure between $30 billion and $35 billion. We must soon find the answers to these problems. Should we increase revenue by imposing a 10 per cent surtax or should we make the percentage smaller? Should we set different rates for corporations than for individuals? When should the new rates, if any, take effect? Where should spending be cut, and how much?

The answer to the last question should be accompanied by the five words of youthful wisdom that most of us heard many years ago: "There ain't no Santa Claus."

Let us all get up on the housetops, next to the chimneys that are a part of the Santa Claus story, and tell everybody who has ears to hear that all the good things that government provides must be paid for by those of us who are today's fathers and mothers and uncles and aunts.

What we fail to pay for will some day be paid for by our children and grandchildren, who will then realize, if they have not already become convinced, that Santa Claus is only a figment of the imagination.

Let us tell those in our own country who are the recipients of handouts from Washington, D.C., that their checks are made possible by the sweat of other men's brows. Let us tell those in other lands who have been receiving foreign aid charity that Uncle Sam has found it necessary to tighten the purse strings and that the gravy train must be sidetracked.

Many years ago an editorial writer for the New York *Sun* told a little girl, "Yes, Virginia, there is a Santa Claus." Let us now enlighten Virginia and Georgia, New York and Illinois, Massachusetts and Alaska, and all the other states, as well as the foreign nations of every continent, by telling them, "There ain't no Santa Claus."

Farm Census Pitfalls

By REP. JAMES F. BATTIN (R.-Mont.)

The general census will not be conducted until 1970, but the agriculture census comes a year earlier. Judging from the changes in the general census, I expect the farm census to be even more harassing than the previous one. When the 1964 census was taken, I recall receiving many letters from farmers who objected to the nature and extent of the questions. The problem is that many of the census enumerators are hired from the locality they work in and farmers have trade secrets that figure largely in the amount they will receive for certain crops. A farmer would only tell a few close friends and even fewer relatives how much grain he was storing while waiting for the market price to come up. But under the law a census taker who might have interest in the local grain elevator could ask the farmer how much grain he has stored and have the law behind him to force an answer.

OEO Welfare Abuses

By REP. JOEL BROYHILL (R.-Va.)

I have said before that when we gave the Office of Economic Opportunity the wide latitude it seems to have in the selection of personnel and projects, we could well be sowing the seeds of our own destruction. Already we are reaping some of what we have sown.

In four separate federal District Courts—in Connecticut, Delaware, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia—attorneys paid by legal units of OEO-financed poverty agencies, attorneys under oath, I presume, to protect and defend the Constitution, have instituted court actions leading to judicial rulings that knock down all residency requirements for those seeking welfare payments from the American taxpayers.

Instead of protecting the interests of the American people who employed them, they directed their efforts toward destruction of the safeguards of society.

They sought to have all welfare residency requirements, both state and federal, declared unconstitutional. They are succeeding.

Smart Kids!

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

We noted an item in a magazine the other day about a social studies quiz which was given to the children of U.S. Air Force personnel at an American school in Europe. One of the questions was: "What is a word which means to give help to one's enemies?" The expected answer, of course, was treason, but 23 of the students answered: "Foreign aid!"

Red Goals Unchanged

By REP. JOHN MYERS (R.-Ind.)

Let us never forget: The Communist world has not for one moment given up its dream of world conquest. While the present Administration talks of building bridges between East and West, the Communists marked the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution by honoring Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Communist forces in North Viet Nam, as the "Communist Man of the Year."

We will never learn that peaceful coexistence is a wonderful phrase, but it is just that—a phrase—a string of words. It is far from being a national policy that the Communists have adopted and intend to follow.

The Russians recently have been "playing up" world peace. This is a clue to me that world peace is about the last thing that they are thinking of or planning for. There have been too many occasions in the recent past when Soviet aims have been the exact opposite of Soviet sweet talk.

Also of concern to me is that the present Administration has been playing its foreign policy cards as if Red China was our greatest enemy, with Russia a lesser one, if an enemy at all.

We need go no further back in history than one month ago when retiring Defense Secretary Robert McNamara revealed that Russia was testing a new weapon that could bomb the United States from outer space as early as 1968.

The disclosure came less than a year after the United States, Russia and various other countries signed a treaty promising to not undertake to place in orbit any objects carrying nuclear weapons.

In short, we must not allow the war in Southeast Asia—in which we now are so heavily involved—to absorb all of our attention and interest, or we will wake up sadly one day to find that Communists have once again taken advantage of us. We must keep our guard up at home as well as in Viet Nam against the threat of communism.

Cost of Red Gains

By REP. ROBERT DENNEY (R.-Neb.)

It is true that the Russians have made great industrial progress. We can see this in their weaponry and their space flights, but let us remember it was at the cost of a generation of lives lost to slave labor. Perhaps the greatest tragedy for Russia is that all these accomplishments in the past 50 years could have been made in a free society. A great many people today seem to have forgotten or overlooked these facts. I sometimes think that some Americans take their freedom for granted. The Pentagon "peace" demonstration of last October is a good example. I doubt that even one of those demonstrators ever stopped to admit to himself that only in the American democracy he was so viciously attacking is the right to demonstrate guaranteed by a Constitution which was written to protect his freedom.

□ □ □

SEN. WILLIAM PROXMIRE (D.-Wis.), never a White House favorite, further angered LBJ with his recent, sharp denunciation of the proposed tax hike. Proxmire, chairman of the influential Joint Economic Committee, said that the tax hike was "exactly the wrong medicine" the country needs. Charging that Johnson "doesn't brook disagreement," Proxmire said, "It's no secret that Gardner Ackley [chairman of the President's council of economic advisers] takes his lead from Johnson and not vice versa on economic policy. The same is true of Treasury Secretary Fowler."

□ □ □

MYSTERY REPORT—Representatives Leslie Arends (R.-Ill.) and Frank Bow (R.-Ohio) have confirmed Minority Leader Gerald Ford's report that LBJ read to them an official government document that the recent anti-war demonstrations at the Pentagon were Communist-directed (see *Human Events*, Dec. 2, 1967, page 4). For unexplained reasons, Administration spokesmen deny the report even exists.

House Approves Modified Anti-Subversive Board

Following is the 269-to-104 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives infused new life into the Subversive Activities Control Board, whose chief job of probing Communist-front groups has been slowed down considerably due to recent Supreme Court decisions. An "aye" vote, in effect, is a vote to keep the SACB alive and transform it into a more effective instrument to combat communism.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 126

Abernethy, Adams, Addabbo, Albert, Anderson (Tenn.), Andrews (Ala.), Ashmore, Aspinall, Baring, Bennett, Blanton, Boggs, Brinkley, Brooks, Burleson, Cabell, Casey, Clark, Colmer, Daniels, Davis (Ga.), Dawson, de la Garza, Delaney, Dent, Dowdy, Downing, Dulski, Edmondson, Edwards (La.), Everett, Fallon, Fascell, Feighan, Fisher, Flood, Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Fuqua, Galifianakis, Gathings, Gettys, Gibbons, Gray, Hagan, Haley, Hamilton, Hanley, Hanna, Hays, Henderson, Herlong, Hull, Ichord, Irwin, Jarman, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Jones (Mo.), Jones (N.C.), Kazen, Kee, Kelly, King (Calif.), Kirwan, Kluczynski, Kornegay, Kyros, Landrum, Lennon, Long (La.), Machen, Madden, Mahon, Marsh, Meeds, Mills, Minish, Montgomery, Morgan, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N.Y.), Natcher, Nichols, Olsen, O'Neal (Ga.), Passman, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Price (Ill.), Pryor, Pucinski, Randall, Rarick, Rhodes (Pa.), Rivers, Rogers (Colo.), Rogers (Fla.), Rostenkowski, Roush, Satterfield, Selden, Shipley, Sisk, Slack, Staggers, Stuckey, Sullivan, Taylor, Teague (Tex.), Tuck, Ullman, Vigorito, Waggonner, Walker, White, Whitener, Williams (Miss.), Willis, Wright, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 143

Adair, Andrews (N.D.), Arends, Ashbrook, Ayres, Battin, Belcher, Bell, Berry, Betts, Biester, Blackburn, Bolton, Bow, Bray, Brock, Brotzman, Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N.C.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Burton (Utah), Bush, Byrnes (Wis.), Carter, Cederberg, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Collier, Corbett, Cramer, Cunningham, Davis (Wis.), Dellenback, Denney, Derwinski, Devine, Dole, Duncan, Dwyer, Edwards (Ala.), Erlenborn, Esch, Eshleman, Fino, Fulton (Pa.), Gardner, Goodell, Goodling, Gross, Grover, Gubser, Gurney, Hall, Hammerschmidt, Hansen (Idaho), Harrison, Harsha, Hunt, Hutchinson, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, Keith, King (N.Y.), Kleppe, Kuykendall, Kyl, Laird, Langen, Latta, Lipscomb, Lukens, McClory, McClure, McCulloch, McDonald (Mich.), McEwen, Mailliard, Martin, Mathias (Calif.), May, Mayne, Meskill, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Minshall, Mize, Moore, Myers, Nelsen, O'Konski, Pelly, Pettis, Pirnie, Poff, Pollock, Price (Tex.), Quie, Reid (Ill.), Reifel, Reinecke, Rhodes (Ariz.), Riegle, Roth, Roudebush, Sandman, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schwengel, Scott, Shriver, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Smith (N.Y.), Smith (Okla.), Snyder, Springer, Stafford, Stanton, Steiger (Ariz.), Steiger (Wis.), Taft, Talcott, Thompson (Ga.), Thomson (Wis.), Utt, Wampler, Watkins, Watson, Whalley, Widnall, Wiggins, Williams (Pa.), Wilson, Bob, Winn, Wyatt, Wydler, Wylie, Wyman, Zion, Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 78

Ashley, Barrett, Blatnik, Boland, Bolling, Brademas, Burke (Mass.), Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Celler, Cohelan, Conyers, Culver, Daddario, Diggs, Dingell, Donohue, Dow, Eckhardt, Edwards (Calif.), Eilberg, Evans (Colo.), Farbstein, Foley, Fraser, Gallagher, Giaimo, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hathaway, Hawkins, Hechler (W. Va.), Helstoski, Hicks, Holifield, Hungate, Jacobs, Joelson, Karsten, Karth, Kastenmeier, Leggett, Long (Md.), McCarthy, McFall, Macdonald (Mass.), Miller (Calif.), Mink, Monagan, Moorhead, Morris (N.M.), Nedzi, Nix, O'Hara (Ill.), O'Hara (Mich.), O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger, Philbin, Reuss, Rodino, Ronan, Rooney (N.Y.), Rosenthal, Ryan, St Germain, Scheuer, Smith (Iowa), Tenzer, Thompson (N.J.), Tiernan, Tunney, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Waldie, Yates

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 26

Anderson (Ill.), Button, Cleveland, Conable, Conte, Curtis, Findley, Gude, Halpern, Horton, Kupferman, Lloyd, McDade, MacGregor, Morse (Mass.), Morton, Mosher, Railsback, Reid (N.Y.), Robison, Rumsfeld, Ruppe, Schneebeli, Teague (Calif.), Vander Jagt, Whalen

NOT VOTING: 59

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